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Early Medieval

Vol. III ŚAKTI GODDESSES

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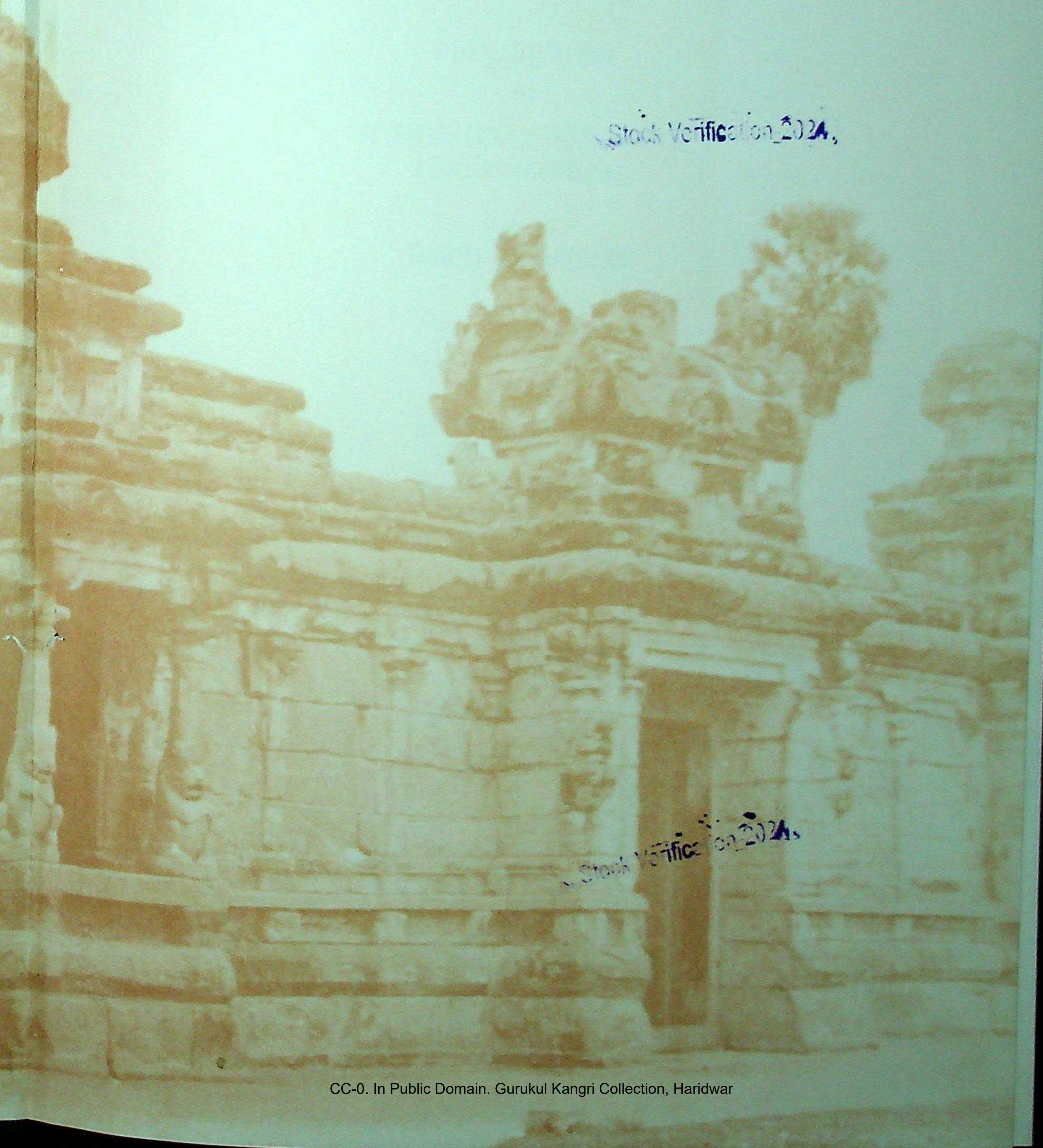

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RAJU KALIDOS

Assisted by
R.K.K. Rajarajan
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पुस्तकालय
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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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Preface

The present volume on "Śakti Goddess" began in 1988 and was completed in 1990. For the purpose, the field all over South India was visited few more times (Sep. 1989, Jan. 1990, April 1990). My paper on Mahiṣāsuramardinī was published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen 1989. On seeing the reprint of the article, Carmel Berkson wrote to me as follows:

"On my return after three-month sojourn in America some days ago I was delighted to receive your article, which I have just read... your information is very welcome, I have recorded it and am very happy to hear more about Mahiṣāsurmardinī in the south... I was little surprised (sad) to see that you did not include two of my publications in the list of references: *Artibus Asiae* 1978, "New Finds of Rāmgarh Hill" in which I introduce the earliest carving of Mahiṣāsurmardinī on rock (before Udayagiri) which I was lucky enough to discover; and the *Amazon and Goddess*, which I sent you. On the other hand, I am happy to hear about the (Phillis) Granoff article, which I had not seen. We should have complete bibliographies" (Aug. 1990).

Carmel Berkson was of my mother's age. I met her first in the conference at Ellora (organized by the M.S. University of Baroda in 1985) and then in Khajurāho (organized by the BHU in 1987). We met again in Baroda during the "Ajaṇṭa" conference (1988). She was highly encouraging to me in my research. She was motherly in her attitude and took me to a hotel in Baroda for a dinner. A sculptor and deep-rooted scholar, her books on Auraṅgābād, Ellora and Mahiṣāsurmardinī challenge the workmanship of professional art historians. When occasion arose, she did not hesitate to rebuke if I were silly in matters of courtesy. For example, when we first met in Cave XXIX Ellora and when I dare address her she chided me for disturbing her while busy with her business. Her advises were of seminal concern to me in understanding the spirit of Indian art. One day in Ellora, she wanted me to take her close to Cave XV at about 6.30 in the evening during the high water. I was afraid. She said a cave would have to be viewed not only in light but also in darkness. At Khajurāho she taught me how to photograph a sculpture on the ceiling of an edifice. In the Khajurāho seminar, when I posed a question to Devangana Desai, she evaded it. Carmel was firm in telling her that my question will have to be answered. I have all the regards and respects of a son to Carmel. If this volume should be dedicated to a scholar and sculptor, it must be Carmel Berkson. I have lost touch with her since long time ago. She seems to have cherished my fellow-ship.

During the third phase of my work I attended conferences in several places in India and presented papers; to note a few; Baroda, Vāraṇāsī, Auraṅgābād, Gorakhpūr, Warraṅgal and Bhopal. The paper presented in Vāraṇāśi appears as an annexure in Vol. I under the present series. The Auraṅgābād paper was published in the *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies* (6:2, 1989). The Gorakhpūr paper was published in *Essays in Honour of Professor S. Khadirvel: History and Society*, Madras 1996. The Warraṅgal paper was published in *Tamil Civilization* (11-13, 1993-95). Besides the paper in *Acta Orientalia (supra)*, two more were published in the *East and West*, one on an aspect of Devī, called Yoninilayā.

The Vice Chancellor during the present tenure was Prof. C. Balasubramanian (popularly Ci. Pa., he is no more) who was an ardent lover of Tamil. One day he visited our Department, occupied my chair and ordered me not to write in English because I am working in "Tamil University". I simply said "no". In fact, it is not "Tamil University" but the Act says it is "The Tamil University." Lot of i(co)mplications stand behind "Tamil" and "the Tamil". I said we write in English for international circulation. If written in Tamil who will publish the matter and who are the readers? A language should be loved. There should be no fanaticism. I am proud to say that Tamil as a viable source of iconographical studies is the contribution of the Department of Sculpture and Art History of the Tamil University. A job left abruptly unfinished by the doyen, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (in his study the 'Dance of Śiva'), has been partly fulfilled by us. Scholars may look into the back volumes of *East and West, Annali del Institute Universitario Orientale, Acta Orientalia, South Asian Studies* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* to verify the veracity of my commitment. In a one-man seminar at the Heidelberg University (winter 1997) I said two eyes are essential to understand the real spirit of Indian art. They are Sanskrit and Tamil. Certain riddles in Indian Art that could not be solved with reference to Sanskrit could be resolved with the help of Tamil sources. Therefore, it is high time that scholars give the due credit to Tamil in their study of Indian art as Ellen Goldberg has done it.

As is the case with the other volumes, I have taken into account both the Sanskrit and Tamil sources in the interpretation of the images of Śakti Goddesses. It has to be admitted that the *bhakti* cult was male oriented in as far as the hymnists sung the praise of Viṣṇu and Śiva. There was no *bhakti* literature, bearing on Devī or her children. The lacuna was partly fulfilled by Ilaṅkō in his *Cilappatikāram* (especially its *Veṭṭuvavari* section) and Ādi Śaṅkara in his works such as *Saundaryalaharī*. The *Devīmāhātmyam* is another indubitable source that acclaims and Glory of the Mother as the Cosmic Virāṭ Śakṭi. These sources have been elaborated at length in the present volume. In course of the later medieval period, Devī established her stronghold over the Indian cult system and challenges Śiva, if not Viṣṇu, as the Absolute Cosmic Reality. Let us see what the status of Devī in early medieval tradition is.

1990 (redrafted 2006)

RAJU KALIDOS

Abbreviations

Literature

ACI	*Tiruvāciriyam*
Akam.	*Akaṉāṉūṟu*
AL	*Ānandalaharī*
AMA	*Amalaṇātipirāṉ*
AND	*Tiruppaḷḷāṇṭu*
CAN	*Tiruccantaviruttam*
Cilampu.	*Cilappatikāram*
CTML	*Ciṟiya Tirumaṭal*
DeviM.	*Devīmāhātmyam*
DK	*devakuḷika*
ELU	*Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai*
Kali.	*Kalittokai*
KUR	*Tirukkuṟuntāṇṭakam*
LSN	*Lalitāsahasranāma*
MAL	*Tirumālai*
Mani.	*Maṇimēkalai*
MOLI	*Tiruvāymoḻi*
NAC	Nāccaiyār *Tirumoḻi*
NED	*Tiruneṭuntāṇṭakam*
NTV	*Nāṉmukaṉ Tiruvantāti*
Pari.	*Paripāṭal*
PAV	*Tiruppāvai*
PET	*Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*
PEYT	Pēyāḻvār *Tiruvantāti*
POYT	Poykaiāḻvār *Tiruvantāti*

PTI	Periyāḻvār *Tirumoḻi*
PTM	*Periya Tirumoḻi*
PTML	*Periya Tirumaṭal*
Puram.	*Puṟanāṉūṟu*
PUTT	Pūtattāḻvār *Tiruvantāti*
SL	*Saundaryalaharī*
Tol. Porul	*Tolkāppiyam-Poruḷatikāram*

Epigraphical

ARE	*Annual Reports on Epigraphy*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
MI	*Mysore Inscriptions*
SII	*South Indian Inscriptions*
SITI	*South Indian Temple Inscriptions*
TPCP	*Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*

Others

Pl.	Plate
Cl. Pl.	Colour Plate
Fig(fig)	Figure (figure)

Note: The common abbreviations such as *op. cit.* are those internationally followed. Others designed for the work have been explained on the context itself.

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Photographic Credit (marked within parentheses)

AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies
FII	French Institute of Indology
RKKR	R.K.K. Rajarajan

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Colour

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CHAPTER I

Sources

Literary sources help to identify sculptural illustrations. In the present chapter a glimpse into the iconographical concepts and mythological narratives from Sanskritic texts (e.g. *Devīmāhātṁyam, Lalitāsahasranāma, Saundaryalaharī* and *Mattavilāsaprahasana*) is presented. The Śākta movement of the early medieval period being a continuous process of what was going on during the pre-Pallava period, there was no separate *bhakti* literature reflecting the personality of Devī as it happened in the case of Śiva and Viṣṇu through the production of an enormous corpus of literature (e.g. *Tirumuṟai* and *Nālāyirativviya-pirapantam*). The personality of Devī as appearing in these basically Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava literature is secondary in character and the references sporadic. In *Tirumuṟai* a good picture of Ardhanārīśvara is obtained but the main projection is Śiva and not Śakti. In the Tamil literature of the contemporaneous period, the picture of Devī is either distorted or meagrely represented. Fortunately in the pre-Pallava *Cilappatikāram* of Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ a broad perspective of Devī, the Tamil Koṟṟavai, is presented and so we take into account the sources to point out the Tamil impact on both the arts and letters of the age.

The *Lalitāsahasranāma* being a list of the Devī's epithets no detailed examination is proposed. It is unwieldy and many of the epithets need not necessarily reflect the concepts of the early medieval period. In order to avoid any kind of anachronism such of those epithets that deserve a note are taken into account.

Cilappatikāram:

The text is basically set in the Cōḻa country for the origin of its subject-matter, leads the reader to the Pāṇḍya country for the climax and ends in the Cēra country. The Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya-Cēra were rulers of the three integral parts of Tamiḻkūṟumnallulakam 'the good world where (nice) Tamil is spoken', called Cōḻanāḍu or Cōḻamaṇḍalam, Pāṇḍināḍu or Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and Cēranāḍu. The epic consists of three books called Pukārkkāṇṭam, Maturaikkāṇṭam and Vañcikkāṇṭam; Pukār, Maturai and Vañci being the capitals of the respective kingdoms. In Pukār there was a wealthy merchant called Kōvalaṉ (Skt. Gopāla ?) who was wedded to Kaṇṇaki (one with beautiful eyes?), the heroine of the epic. The hero fell in love with a dancing girl, called Mātavi, and lost all his belongings. Due to a misunderstanding with his paramour, Kōvalaṉ with Kaṇṇaki proceeds to Maturai to start a new living and in the venture makes an attempt to sell the precious anklet of his wife. The ruling Pāṇḍya king at that time, named Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ, had handed over an anklet of the same design as Kāṇṇaki's to a goldsmith to remane it. Kōvalaṉ meets the same goldsmith for selling his anklet. The wicked goldsmith plots to steal the queen's anklet and reports to Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ the anklet was stolen and that he has found the thief. The King hastily orders to recover the state property and kill the thief. Kōvalaṉ was beheaded. Kaṇṇaki proceeds to the king's court and proves with the help of the second anklet that her husband was innocent and that the Soverign liege who passed an unlawful judgement is the thief. The king realises his folly and dies broken-hearted. His queen meets the same fate. Thereupon, Kaṇṇaki sets fire to Maturai by tearing off one of her breasts, and proceeds to the Cēra country from where she ascends to the other world in an aerial car. Hunters of the hill country who observe the event report the matter to their king, Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, who undertakes an expedition to the Himālayas and brings a stone to carve an image of the Goddess of Chastity (Pattiṉitēvi) and institutes a temple and festival in her honour. The king's brother, Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, engages himself in giving a literary shape to the chaste one's biography, which the Tamil scholars believe is the *Cilappatikāram* 'Story of the Anklet'. Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ's successor appeases the Goddess of Chastity by sacrificing 1,000 goldsmiths and institutes her worship in Maturai. Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ's text in chaste and classical Tamil is hailed one of the best. In the epic pattern, the Tamil *magnum opus* deals with the social life of the land in between the lines, cutting across the barriers of religion and topographical segmentation. We get an excellent peep into the religious mysticism of the age, alongside with iconographical gleanings. The *Cilappatikāram* is an invaluable source material in the context of the present study, neglected by art historians.

A number of temples for various gods and goddesses existed in Pukār and Maturai. Called *kōyil* in Tamil (synonyms *kōṭṭam, niyamam, nakaram; paḷḷi* for Jains and *vikāram* Skt. *vihāra* for Buddhists), many of them were found in Pukār, dedicated to Śiva (Liṅga? called *piṟavāyākkaipperiyōṉ* the unborn self-manifest, *svayambhū*), the six-faced Murukavēḷ (Ṣaṇmukha), the white complexioned Baladeva, the blue-coloured Neṭiyōṉ (Viṣṇu) and Indra who bears an umbrella (*Intiraviḻāvūreṭuttakātai ll.*169-73). In another context various temples for the guardian deity of Pukār, called Campāpati, a temple for a deity protecting the city limits, called Mācāttāṉ, a temple for *kaṟpakam* (*kalpavṛkṣa* 'the celestial tree'), Airāvata (Indra's white elephant) and *vaccirakkōṭṭam* (*vajra*, personified 'thunderbolt' of Indra) are mentioned in addition to those of Baladeva, the Sun God (Sūrya) and Arukaṉ (Nikantakkōṭṭam), the Jain God (*Kaṉāttiramuṟaittakātai* 11.9-13). All these were in Pukār. There was a temple for Iṭākiṉippēy (Ḍākinī, the ghost) who lived in burial-ground, *Cuṭukāṭṭukkōṭṭam* or *Cakkaravāḷakkōṭṭam* (*ibid.* 11.19-20). A temple for Kāmadeva, *kāmavēḷkōṭṭam*, is noted (*ibid.*, 11. 60). When Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki move out of Pukār to proceed toward Maturai, they come across a temple for Viṣṇu-Śeṣaśāyī, *araviṉarituyil* *amarnta Maṇivaṇṇaṉkōṭṭam* (*Nāṭukāṇkātai* 11.9-10). It is likely to be a reference to the temple at Tiruvaraṅkam (m. Śrīraṅgam). Nearby, there was a temple for the Buddha, called *Intiravikāram* (Skt. *Indravihāra*, cf. the *Indrasabha* among the Jain group of caves in Ellora) (*ibid.*, 11.11-14). As they were moving, the couple are said to have taken shelter in a temple of Koṟṟavai, called *Aiyaitaṉkōṭṭam* (*Kāṭukāṇkātai* 11.210-16). It was in the deep forest during the mid-summer when everywhere it is a deserted land (T. *pālai*). The story set in Maturai refers to the temples there in. They are a *kōyil* for the three-eyed God (i.e., Śiva), *niyamam* for one holding the kite-flag (i.e., Viṣṇu), a *nakaram* for the white complexioned one holding the plough-share (i.e. Baladeva), a *kōṭṭam* for one holding the cock-banner (i.e., Murukaṉ), the *paḷḷis* of Jains and of course the king's palace, also called a *kōyil*, being the seat of Justice (*Ūrkāṇkātai*, 11.7-12). A temple for Koṟṟavai is spoken of as appearing in the outskirts of Maturai (*Kaṭṭuraikkātai* 11.122-32, 177-85).[1]

It is inevitable to note here that even though temples for the important gods of the Hindu pantheon are noted; those relating to Baladeva, *vajra* and *kalpavṛkṣa* are something remarkable. The same time why temples for the Śakti Goddesses are not said to exist in the metropolitan circle? even though the guardian deity of Maturai is called Maturātēvi (*infra*). Another important question is why Koṟṟavai occupies the outskirts of cities or her temples found only in the deep forest region? that was occupied by the hunters (*infra*).

The introductory part of the epic gives clue to the fact that the heroine was deified after her ascent to heaven. The efforts in the direction were taken by the *kuṉṟakkuṟavar*. The Cēra king, Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, not only erected a temple for her but also brought a stone from the North to carve her image. The Goddess is called Pattiṉikkaṭavuḷ 'Goddess of Chastity' or Pattiṉitēvi. If the testimony provided by the *Cilappatikāram* could be taken into serious account, it would appear that Pattiṉitēvi was the first to be represented in stone reliefs because stone by and large was employed for temple-building and sculpture-making only since the Pallava-Pāṇḍya period, beginning tentatively with A.D. 600. The arrival of a stone from the North seems to be an allegorical reference to the introduction of the lithic tradition from the North to the South. The Pattiṉitēvi cult instituted by Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ soon spread to other parts of Tamil Nadu since Veṟṟivēṟceḻiyaṉ (Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ's successor), the Cōḻa king Peruṅkiḷḷi, the Kōcar and Gajabhāhu (T. Kayavāku) of Ceylon (T. Ilaṅkai) are said to have participated in the festival, organised by the Cēra king and thus introduced the cult in their dominions.

Pattiṉitēvi, the deified Kaṇṇaki, is an important Goddess, noted in the epic. She was elevated to goddesshood, sacrifices offered to her, festivals instituted and her stone images set up. To begin with, it seems to be an ancient Drāviḍian custom to accord godmorphosed status to women of eminence whose wrath either a family, clan or society at large considered a matter for appeasement and did the needful to solicit her favours. The custom continued to exist in Tamil Nadu till the very late Nāyaka time. Women at family circles were deified when Islamic persecution was a problem to reckon with. From that root, the Goddess tradition in course of time came to establish its hold over Maturai. The original Queen of the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭar̲ Purāṇam*, dealing with the glories of Śiva in Maturai, called Taṭātakai lost one of her three breasts as Kaṇṇaki does.[2] According to the epic, Kaṇṇaki came around Maturai thrice, removed her left breast and threw it and atonce the city was under a conflagration, resulting in a great cataclysm. To quote:

> *Iṭamulai kaiyāl tiruki Maturai*
> *Valamur̲ai mummur̲ai vāra alamantu*
> *Maṭṭār marukin̲ maṇimulaiyai vaṭṭittu*
> *Viṭṭāḷer̲intāḷ viḷaṅkiḷaiyāḷ* ... (*Vañcinamālai* 11. 41-3).

Taṭātakai is said to have been born with three breasts of which the third one disappeared when she met her husband. Taṭātakai later came to be identified with Mīnākṣī 'one having fish-like (beautiful) eyes', the tutelary Goddess of the Pāṇḍyas and the guardian-knot of the cultural tradition in Maturai. Linking the three feminine factors, it may be hypothesised that what was originally Kaṇṇaki, one with beautiful eyes, at a later stage becomes Mīnākṣī as incorporated into the Sanskritic purāṇic version because the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭar̲ Purāṇam* has its own equivalent, the *Halāsyamahātmya*. One more evidence may be considered, available in the form of oral tradition. In the folk thought of the Tamil country, there is a version of the Kaṇṇaki story called *Kōvilan̲-katai*, enacted in country stages. This version would consider Kaṇṇaki as the Mother Goddess herself who was cursed by Śiva to be born on earth and suffer for having challenged him to a dancing competition. The story gets closer to with the *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-sthalapurāṇam*. In the forties of this century a Tamil movie was produced, which incorporates the folk version. Starred by P.U. Cin̲n̲appā as Kōvalan̲ and B. Kaṇṇāṁbha as Kaṇṇaki, the movie in its prologue presents the episode of Śiva-Śakti dance and the final imprecation. In the light of the above discussion it is now evident that the Kaṇṇaki-Mīnākṣī link through Taṭātakai is not only probable but also possible.

Pattin̲itēvi's eminence as a Goddess par excellence is pointed out by Iḷaṅkō in the epic itself. "I have not seen (or heard of) a better Goddess than the Chaste one".[3] When Kaṇṇaki was about to destroy the city, not only the guardian deity of Maturai, Maturātēvi, but the three Primordial Goddesses of the pantheon, viz., Māmakaḷ (Pārvatī), Nāmakaḷ (Vākdevī) and Kōmakaḷ (Lakṣmī) appear before the Chaste one and bear witness to her activities. Now, the question is why the consorts of the Trimūrtis (viz., Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu) appear before Kaṇṇaki? Is it to proclaim that the chaste woman (cf. Anasūya, wife of sage Atri who converts the Trimūrtis into children by power of her chastity) is respectable even by the chief Goddesses or the former is equal to the core Śakti herself?

The above generalisation is supported by the *Cilappatikāram* itself in a context. When Kaṇṇaki arrives at the threshold of the Pāṇḍya king's court to plead for her husband, the doorkeeper rushes in and announces the ushering storm in the following words, "(My

Lord! a Maid has come) She is not the Goddess of Victory, Koṟṟavai, who stands on the decapitated head of a buffalo from which fresh blood oozes! She is not the youngest (Cāmuṇḍā) among the six other mothers (Sapta Mātṛkas)! She is not the one who challenges the Lord Śiva for a dancing competition! She is not Kālī who inhabits the forest region! and she is not even the Goddess who killed the demon, Tāruka!". Iḷaṅkō's eloquence pours out:

> *Aṭarnteḻu kuruti yaṭaṅkāp pacuntuṇip*
> *Piṭarttalaip pīṭam ēṟiya maṭakkoṭi*
> *Veṟṟivēṟṟaṭakkai Koṟṟavai yallaḷ*
> *Aṟuvarkkiḷaiya naṅkai iraivaṉai*
> *Āṭalkaṇṭaruḷiya aṇaṅku cūruṭaik*
> *Kāṇakam ukantakāḷi tārukaṉ*
> *Pēruraṅkiḻitta peṇṇumallaḷ* (*Vaḻakkuṟaikātai ll* 34-40).

What is striking in this passage is the comparison of Kaṇṇaki with Cāmuṇḍā, Koṟṟavai, Kālī, Piṭārī and Devī, who challenged Śiva for a dancing competition.[4] It serves to confirm the view that the core idea projected in the foregoing passage held sway over the land even during Iḷaṅkō's time.

Next to Pattiṉitēvi, Koṟṟavai occupies an important place as a socio-cultural factor in the epic. Though the wives of the Trimūrtis are mentioned in a context, in no other place do they appear prominently. Rarely Pārvatī is called Malaimakaḷ 'daughter of the hill' who is the mother of Murukaṉ (Skanda) (*Kuṉṟakkuravai* 1.14). Referring to Koṟṟavai, various names are recorded such as Aiyai (*Kāṭukāṇkātai* 1.216), Amari, Kumari, Kavuri, Camari, Cūli, Nīli, Caṅkari and so on (*Vēṭṭuvavari* 11. 67-8, 154). The deer is her mount and so the epithets Kalaippāvai and Kalaiyamarcelvi, *kalai* 'deer'[5] (*Kāṭukāṇkātai* 1. 197, *Veṭṭuvavari* 1.16). Similar epithets are *Pāykalaippāvai*, *Āykalaippāvai* and *Aruṅkalaipāvai* (*Vēṭṭuvavari* 11. 70-1, 95). She is the spinster, seated in Kumari form: *kumarikkōlattu amar kumari* (*Vēṭṭuvavari* 11. 72-3).

Koṟṟavai is described in great detail in the *vēṭṭuvavari* section of the epic. She is said to be the Goddess of the hunters, called *eyiṉar*. She has three eyes and is adored by the *maṟavar* who lived perpetrating highway robbery (*Kāṭukāṇkātai* 11.210-16). Koṟṟavai, the Goddess of Victroy, mounted on the deer, may also stand on the decapitated head of a buffalo. She wears the Crescent on head. Her garment consists of the hides of an elephant and a tiger. She wears the *cilampu* and *kaḻal*, anklets meant for women and men respectively. Her eyes are burning, lips red-hued like coral, teeth shining with whiteness and the neck black in colour for having consumed the deadly poison (*nīlakaṇṭhī*). A snake appears as her breast-band while she holds the *śūla* (T. *cūlam*) in the bangled hand. She was the one who bent the Meru into a bow and tied the snake, Vāsuki, as its string. She is the one perpetually adored by the *amarar (devas)* whom even the *nāṉmaṟai* (*Caturvedas*) could not discover. Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā keep her in their mind's eye. A Cosmic Being, she was who slaughtered Mayiṭaṉ (Mahiṣāsura) with a sword. She occupies half of Śiva which form the holy scriptures extol. In such a form her mount is the bull. She holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in hands and at times appears on the lion vehicle.

Another part of the *Vēṭṭuvavari* describes a dancing girl, called Cāliṉi, who is disguised as Koṟṟavai to pronounce oracles. She is decorated with the thin-skin of snakes on the head and fitted with the tusk of boar. A tiger's teeth and hide are formed into a necklace and waist-band respectively. She holds a bow in one of the hands. A live antelope is brought to serve her mount whose horns are twisted. The *eyiṉar* women offer oblations, worship and place their requests to invite oracles.

Iḷaṅkō also deals in great detail with the sacrifices and oblations offered. To begin with Pattiṉitēvi is said to have been appeased with the offering of the heads of 1000 goldsmiths by Veṟṟivēṟceḻiyaṉ who organised a grand festival to solicit *sānti* (T. *cānti*). Thereupon, pestilences were removed along with anger and then the rains poured (*Uraipeṟukaṭṭurai* 'Prolegomena' to the Epic). A *Pattiṉikkōṭṭam* was built and arrangements made for *nityapūja* (T. *nittalviḻā*) 'daily festivals'. Later, devotees of Koṟṟavai are said to offer her blood sacrifices (*Vēṭṭuvavari* 11.12-19). Human sacrifice was offered, especially the heads of enemies whom the warriors take as captives (*ibid.*, 11.19-21). Other offerings included toys (votives?), parrots, plumages, wild cocks, peacocks, playing balls, saffron (*kumkum*), boiled seeds (T. *avarai, turavari*), rice mixed with blood, incense; all followed by the blowing of wind and percussion instruments and bells (*ibid*, 30-40). The blood sacrifice is called *kurutippali* (*kuruti* 'blood' and *pali* 'sacrifice'). What is interesting in the context is that the devotees ardently believe that their Goddess makes no difference between the 'blood' and the *amṛta* 'ambrosia', obtained by churning the Ocean of Milk (*Vēṭṭuvavari* 11. 18-20). In addition to sacrifices, the epic records some of the social practices of the age, associated with Koṟṟavai. The Goddess was not only of victory but also of *Dharma* 'righteousness'. Kaṇṇaki after destroying Maturai visits a temple of Koṟṟavai at the outskirts of the city and breaks off her bangles. Breaking the bangles is a living tradition in India, which is performed by widows. Kaṇṇaki performing it at the temple of Koṟṟavai is very significant because she does it in the presence of the Goddess of Righteousness.

Next to Koṟṟavai, the Śakti goddess who receives a major stress is Maturātēvi, guardian of the Maturai city. When Kaṇṇaki resolves to destroy Maturai, she invokes the presence of Maturāpati and Agni, the Fire God, to tell her whom she should destroy and whom not to disturb. In this connection, an iconographical description of Maturāpati is presented, which is very striking in the context of our study and deserves a comparison with Ādi Śaṅkara's perception of Ardhanārī (*infra*). Maturāpati is one who bears the Crescent on the head. She has dark eyes and a shining face. The lips are red. The left half of the body is dark like a blue gem and the right half shining like gold. She holds a lotus in the left hand and *maḻu* (Skt. *ṭaṅka*) in right hands. She wears the *kaḻai* and *cilampu* in the right and left ankles respectively (*supra*). It is very interesting that Madhurādevī is viewed in Ardhanārī form. The *lakṣaṇas* characteristic of Devī's left half and the Lord's right half of the form are admirably brought out in Iḷaṅkō's description (*vide, Kaṭṭuraikkātai* 11.1-10).The description of Kōṟṟavai in *Veṭṭuvavari* (*supra*) also gives a hint to the Ardhanārī form of the Goddess. There, the bull (Skt. *vṛṣabha*) is said to be her mount. Logically, Madhurādevī and Koṟṟavai are placed on the same plane.

Apart from these goddesses, the Epic refers to some minor goddesses. Among them, Iṭākiṉi (Skt. Ḍākinī) is one who occupies the burial-ground and eats corpses (*supra*). She is likely to be a Goddess of the Yoginī cadre. Besides, one who beguiles travellers on the highway and kills them after a sexual intercourse, is noted. She is called Ārarurtteyvam (one who troubles wayfareres) or Kāṉuraiteyvam (goddess of the forest). The hero, Kōvalaṉ, meets such a Goddess on the way to Maturai and so he along with his wife takes shelter in a temple of Koṟṟavai to avoid troubles. She is called Vaṉacāriṇi (*Kāṭukāṇkātai* 11.140-75). Kōvalaṉ mutters praises (*mantras?*) in honour of Koṟṟavai and thus escapes. She is also likely to be a goddess of the Yoginī cadre because Aṭiyārkkunallār (12th century A.D.), the authority commenting on the Epic, identifies her with Iyakki (Skt. Yakṣī) or Yoginī. Kāḷi, Māmakaḷ ('the Great Mother', Śakti of Śiva), Nāmakaḷ (Vākdevi) and Kōmakaḷ (Śrīdevī) are noted sporadically without stressing their importance. Māmakaḷ is also called Malaimakaḷ 'daughter of the mountain' and said to be the mother of Murukaṉ (*Kuṉṟakkuravai* 1.14).

In an overall analysis, it is found that goddesses of the higher order such as Pārvatī, Śrīdevī, Sarasvatī, Durgā or Koṟṟavai, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Ardhanārī are noted. References to Nagaradevata (Madhurādevī), frontier goddess (Campāpati), goddess of the burial-ground (Iṭākiṉi or Ḍākinī) and the godmorphosised heroine (Kaṇṇaki into Pattiṉitēvi) are remarkable in the Epic. If the *Cilappatikāram* tradition could be depended upon, the first one to be carved in a piece of stone in Tamil Nadu is a Goddess, i.e., Pattiṉitēvi. The tradition continued to exist in South India for a very long time to come till the late 19th century A.D. in the form of hero-stones, called *naṭukal*.

Another important point is the status accorded to Devī. A.A. Bake, in an article published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Vol. 10, 1939-42) gives an account of the appropriation of Śiva's attributes by Devī, viewing the problem from the point of view of Ādi Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī*. His presentation gives the impression that everything is the invention of Ādi Śaṅkara. The present analysis of the *Cilappatikāram*, which is chronologically earlier than the *Saundaryalaharī*, proves that Ādi Śaṅkara is rooted in Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ. The latter, for instance, attributes the following exclusive characteristics of Śiva to Devī:

1. The three eyes,
2. The *ardhacandra* 'half moon',
3. The hides of elephant and tiger (dress).

4. The bull vehicle,
5. *Nīlakaṇṭha* 'blue throat',
6. Meru as bow and Vāsuki as rope that Tripurāntaka holds,
7. The *śaṅkha* and *cakra*, emblems of Viṣṇu, attributed to Mahiṣāsuramardinī,
8. The antelope, Śiva's emblem in one of his *pūrvahastas*, appearing as Koṟṟavai's mount,
9. The Trimūrtis (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) keep Devī in their mind's eye.

Above all Iḷaṅkō views Ardhanārī as a basically feminine form which many of the later *śilpaśāstras* (*infra*) treat masculine. To be specific, it is Iḷaṅkō who gives clue to the concept that Śiva without Śakti is a *sava*.

Devīmāhātmyam:

The *Devīmāhātmyam* (hereinafter *DevīM*), an integral part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, is a treasure-house of iconographical information relating to the Śakti goddesses. The text is popular in North India as *Durgā-saptaśatī* as it consists of 700 *dhyānaślokas* and meant for regular recitation by Śākta *upāsakas* 'devotees'. It is also called *Caṇḍisaptaśatī* (*Saptaśatīm-Caṇḍīm*) and *Caṇḍikāstotram* (*stotram vai Caṇḍikāyastu*) by the concerned text itself. Being a text meant for *pūjā* recitation, it consists of lot of ritual details and by the way retells the glory of Devī elaborately and presents glimpses of iconographical data.

Before undertaking a detailed description of the iconographical typologies, a criptic account of the various forms, elaborated in the *DevīM*, may be presented here. The text enumerates a number of the names of Devī in the *nāmāvali* pattern as they appear in texts like the *Lalitāsahasranāma* (hereinafter *LSN*) and the various *aṣṭottarams* '100 names' (e.g. Durgā-, Sarasvatī- and Gaurī-). By this method, the supreme Mother Goddess is viewed in the Virāṭ or Viśvarūpa form. In such a case, the names alone are listed, followed by no detailed iconographical notes, and at times the source of the nomenclature is explained (for example why she gets the name Raktadantikā ?). The names of the Navadurgās and those of the Mātṛkas are listed while in the latter case several versions of iconographical notes presented. The mythological background for the origin of the Mātṛkas is traced. Forms of the Śakti Goddesses, elaborated are the following; Mahālakṣmī, Mahāsarasvatī, Argala, Mahākālī, Durgā, Raktadantikā, Sakambharī, Brahmārī, Mahāmārī, and Rātridevī. Apart from them, the various manifestations of Devī who slaughtered powerful demons are described in a number of chapters. By the way the text deals with the rendition of the following demons: Madhu-Kaiṭabha, Mahiṣāsura, Śuṁbha-Niśuṁbha, Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa and Raktabīja.

Virāt-Śakti or Viśvarūpinī:

Viśvarūpa or Virāṭ Puruṣa is a concept, familiar with Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva iconography. The idea was borrowed by the Śāktas at a later time when they tried to visualize Śakti as the Primordial Goddess. It resulted in the conceptualization of a form of *Puruṣa* 'Man' whose several organs of the physical frame are supposed to be represented by a multitude of gods. The *sādhaka* who meditates upon the Supreme Mother, as advocated in the *DevīM*, invokes the goddess to be present in himself through her various forms at the various locations of his body. When a figurative representation to the idea is given, it would appear what is actually A Goddess consists of several *śaktis* who constitute the 'World Mother' or Cosmic femine, Jagatmūrti. We get a Feminine edition of Virāṭpuruṣa or Viśvarūpa.

According to the invocation in the *DevīM* (*Pūrvabhāgam, Kavacam* vv. 18-36) not less than seventy of the Śaktis are supposed to constitute the cosmic Mother who is elsewhere called Bhuvaneśvarī. The following four are to be present in the four directions of the *upāsaka* who meditates upon the glory of Devī: Jayā to the front, Vijayā to the back, Ajitā to the left and Aparājitā to the right. Then, the following deities are invoked to provide *rakṣa* 'protection' to the various *aṅgas* 'organs' as noted against their names: Udhyotinī - tuft, Umā - head, Mālādharī - forehead, Yasasvinī - eyebrows, Trinetrā - centre of eyebrows, Yamaghaṇṭā - nose, Śaṅkhinī - eyes, Dvāravāsinī - ears, Kālīkā - cheeks, Śaṅkarī - roots of ears, Sugandhā - nose, Carcikā - upper lip, Amṛtakalā - lower lip, Sarasvatī - tongue, Kaumārī - teeth, Caṇḍikā - Adam's apple, Citraghaṇṭā - tonsils (in Indian usage the inner tongue), Mahāmāyā - lower jaw, Kāmākṣī - jaws, Sarvamaṅgalā - speech, Bhadrakālī - neck, Dhanurdharī - backbone, Nīlagrīva - outer necks, Nalakubarī (Śakti of Nalakubara, son of Kubera) - neck bone, Khaḍgadhārinī - shoulder, Vajradhārinī - limbs, Daṇḍinī - hands, Aṁbikā - fingers, Śuleśvarī - nails, Analeśvarī - armpit, Mahādevī - chests, Sokavināsinī - mind, Lalitādevī - heart, Śūladhārinī - stomach, Kāminī - umblicus, Guhyeśvarī - *guhya* (secret parts - genitals ?), Bhūtanātha - *liṅga* (penis), Mahiṣavāhinī - anus, Bhagavatī - hip, Vindhyavāsinī - knees, Mahābalā - thighs, Viṇāyakī - centre of knees, Nṛsiṁhī - ankles, Mitaujasī - heels, Śrīdharī - fingers of legs, Sthalavāsinī - below the feet, Damstrakarālī - nails, Ūrdhvakeśinī - hairs, Kaulaberī - roots of hairs, Vāgīśvarī - skin, Pārvatī - blood (fat, semen, flesh, bone and brain), Kālarātrī - intestine, Mukuṭeśvarī - *pittam* (bile), Padmāvatī - *ādhārakamala* (testicles ?), Cūḍāmaṇī - *kapam* (*phlegm*), Jvālāmukhī - brightness of the nails, Abhedhyā - all joints, Brāhmaṇī - *suklam* (semen), Chatreśvarī - shadow, Dharmacārinī - pride, mind and intellect, Cakrinī - fame and beauty, Indrāṇī - *gotra* (paternal lineage), Caṇḍikā - domestic animals, Mahālakṣmī - progeny, Bhairavī - wives, Kṣemaṅkarī - parental lineage, Vijayā - all directions, Jayantī and Pāpanāsinī - all unprotected places, and so on.

Other epithets of the Goddess, listed in the *DevīM* are the following: Śrīdevī, Buddhī, Sraddhā, Devī, Svāhā, Svadhā, Prakṛtī, Durgā, Gaurī, Īśvarī (*adhyāya* 4 under *Devīstuti*), Pṛthvī, Viṣṇu-śakti, Nārāyaṇī, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāha-rūpī (i.e., Varāhī), Nṛsiṁha-rūpī (i.e., Nṛsiṁhī), Ghora-rūpī, Śivadūti, Cāmuṇḍā, Lakṣmī, Lajjā, Mahāvidhyā, Mahārātrī, Mahāmāyā, Medhadevī, Sarasvatī, Bhūti, Babhravī, Tamasī, Durgādevī,[6] Kātyāyanī, Viśvesvarī,[7] Bhīmādevi[8] and Aruṇā[9] (*adhyāya* 11 under *Devīstuti*).

The cosmic form of Devī is alluded to in the *Lalitāsahasranāma,* which presents a copious and compendious list of the 1000 names of the Mother Goddess. Though a multitude of the names are listed, many of the *DevīM* names are found missing in it. We get a definitive idea relating to Devī's cosmic form as a concept, proved by several of the synonymous epithets like Mahārūpa (212), Sarvamayī 'immanent in all' (203), Vyāpinī 'all pervasive' (400), Pūrṇa 'the whole'(282) and Sarvajña 'the omniscient' (196). Such a manifestation of Devī is called Sarveśvarī (203), Bhuvaneśvarī (294), Nikhileśvarī 'queen of all' (569) and Yasasvinī 'the glorious' (474). She is one with 1000 heads and faces (Sahasraśirasvadanā - 282), 1000 eyes (Sahasrākṣī 283) and 1000 legs (Sarasrapād 284). She is an embodiment of the heavenly frame and all cosmic activities are embedded in her. She is the Trimūrti and manifests herself in Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. Therefore all the incarnations of Viṣṇu proceed from Devī, i.e., her finger nails and the epithet 'Karaṅgulinakhotanna-Nārāyaṇadaśakṛtiḥ' (*LSN* 80). Herein the "Cosmic and supracosmic dimensions"[10] of Devī are pointed out.

The *LSN* consists of several epithets, which are either parallel to the *DevīM* list or get closer to the latter epithets. The following arranged alphabetically, deserve worthy note: Aṁbikā (295), Bhagavatī (279), Bhairavī (276), Brahmī (675), Brāhmaṇī (674, 821), Caṇḍikā (755), Duhkhahantrī (191), Durgā (190), Durgamā (189), Gaurī (635), Guhyā(624), Īśvarī (271), Jayā (377), Jvālāmālinī (71), Kālarātrī (491), Kāmākṣī (62), Kātyāyanī (556), Kaulinī (90-95, 925), Lajjā (740),[11] Lalitā (1000), Mahābala (222), Mahābuddhi (223), Mahādevī (209), Mahākālī (750), Mahālakṣmī (210), Mahāmāyā (215), Mahiṣī (233), Mātā (1,457), Māyā (716), Medhā (538), Nārāyaṇī (298), Pārvatī (246), Śaṅkarī (128), Saramaṅgalā, Sarasvatī (704), Śivadūti (405), Śivamūrti (407), Śrīśiva (998), Svadhā (536), Svāhā (535), Umā (633), Vaiṣṇavī (892), Vajreśvarī (468), Varāhī (76), Viṣṇurūpinī (893) and Vijayā (346).[12]

From a comparative study of both the *DevīM* and *LSN* what could be generalised is that the Viśvarūpa aspect of Devī was well perceived of which the former presents a clear perspective while the latter list has just appropriated some of the epithets in its collection of the nomenclature of Devī. The *LSN* refrains from making a deliberate attempt to describe the Devī's cosmic form, constituted within a bodily framework, because its aim is to list the epithets and that is all. Whereas the *DevīM* mainly professes to illustrate the Devī's glories in the purāṇic type while occasionally lists the *nāmāvalis*. Whatever may be the *raison d' être* in the approach between the texts, it is rewarding in a comparative study to get at a picture of Viśvarūpinī.

Another important point to be noted is that many of the Devī's epithets are adaptations of similar titles attributed to her male counterparts especially Śiva. The epithets of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other male gods like the *dikpālakas*, are also attributed to her. The following masculine epiethets for example, may be noted: Bhairava, Bhīma, Bhuvaneśvara, Brahmā, Dhanurdhara, Ghora, Guhyeśvara, Īśvara, Kumāra, Mahābala, Mahādeva, Mahākāla, Mukuṭeśvara, Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṁha, Śaṅkara, Sarvamaya, Sarvajña, Śiva, Śrīdhara, Trimūrti, Varāha, Viṇāyaka, Viṣṇu, Viśvesvara and so on. In the Hindu religious tradition the male deities, especially Śiva, commanded a supreme status down to the 6th century A.D. when Śaṅkara, the *advaita* philosopher from Kerala, made a deliberate attempt to project the personality of Devī in his *Saundarayalaharī* which text proclaims that the Trimūrtis are nothing but emanations of the primordial Śakti. The idea acquired a bigger proportion through the *Brahmāṇḍa-* and *Mārkaṇḍeya- purāṇas*[13] which speak about the 1000 names and the glories of Devī. The aspect is to be treated as a starting point in the Śākta tradition which acquired greater dimensions during the later medieval period. The Mother Goddess concept, which at one stage was a micro-unit of the Śaiva religion broke away from the parental stem, say during the 8th-10th centuries A.D., and assumed a macro-garb by giving a cosmic shape to the Goddess. It is at this stage that the Yoginī cult got entrenched in several parts of India since many of the Yoginīs form part of the Virāṭ-Śakti.[14]

From the foregoing analysis it may be conclusively stated that the *DevīM* provides a well-defined concept of Virāṭ-śakti which had a tremendous influence over the development of Śakti iconography since the 10th century A.D. onwards. Towards the end, it may be observed that the ideas adumbrated by Ādi Śaṅkara played a vital role.

Durgā:

Durgā is one who eradicates the *duḥkha* 'sorrow' of her devotees and so the epithet *duḥkhahantrī* (*supra, LSN* 191). The *DevīM* has specific references to the aspect of the Goddess. She is called *Sarvaduḥkhakṣayaṅkarī* 'one who wipes out all sorrows' (*DevīM, Pūrvabhāga, Kavacam*, v. 7) and the tradition still persists in the Tamil country. Devotees of Durgā cling to the notion that she removes all their sorrows when adored. While explaining the name, in another context, it is added by the translator that she is an unattainable one.[15] There is a purāṇic version of the origin of the name, Durgā. After the slaughter of Niśuṁbha-Śuṁbha, the *devas* were engaged in praising the glorious Goddess who appeared before them and assured protection at all eventualities. In that connection she makes the statement that she is to be called Durgādevī for killing a demon called Durgama.[16] It may be noted here that it is said to be an event to take place in future and no detailed history of Durgā-Durgama is given.[17]

Apart from these references to the nomenclature, the *DevīM* presents a list of nine Durgās, the Navadurgā, followed by no enumeration of iconographical details. The names listed are Sailaputrī, Brahmacārinī, Candraghaṇṭā, Kusmāṇḍa, Skandamātā, Kātyāyani, Kālarātrī, Mahāgaurī and Siddhitā (*DevīM., Pūrvabhāga, Kavaca*, vv. 3-4). The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* (*Paṭalam* 49), *Suprabhedāgama* (*Paṭalam* 46), *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* (*Paṭalam* 12) have descriptions of Durgā.[18] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* speaks of three types of Durgās called Mahālakṣmī, Kṣemaṅkarī and Harasiddhi. The *Kāraṇāgama* and *Āmnāyat* deal with Rudrāṁśadurgā and Vanadurgā. The *Sāradātilaka* describes Agnidurgā, Jayadurgā, Vindhyavāsinidurgā and Ripumārinīdurgā. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* has a description of Navadurgā.[19] The *Śilparatna* (ch. 24) describes two types of Durgās called Mūladurgā and Vanadurgā. The *Śrītattvanidi*, a *śilpa* digest of the 19th century A.D., basing its authority on various texts, presents a copious list and description of the various types of Durgās in its first part dealing with *Śaktinidhi*. Citing the *Śaivāgama*,[20] it elaborates nine types of Vanadurgās whose names are as follows, all to be suffixed with the common denominator -durgā: Sailaputrī-, Brahmacārinī-, Caṇḍakhaṇḍa-, Skanda-, Kusmāṇḍa-, Kātyāyanī-, Kalarātri-, Mahāgaurī- and Siddhitāyinī- (*Śrītattvanidi* I: 51-9). The Navadurgās as appearing in *Skandayāmala* are the following: Rudrā, Caṇḍa, Sacī, Śaivā, Caṇḍī, Krūrā, Anucaṇḍikā, Navamī and Ugracaṇḍā (as noted in *Durgākalpa*), Rudrāṁśadurgā (as noted in *Kāraṇāgama*) and Vanadurgā (as noted in *Āmnāyat)*. The *Sāradātilaka* is quoted in connection with the iconographical details of Agnidurgā, Jayadurgā and Vindhyavāsinī-durgā (*Śrītattvanidhi* I: 61-2, 64, 105, 122-3).[21]

Totally twenty-five types of Durgās are traceable from a study of the various textual sources. Of them nine are the same as appearing in the *DevīM* and *Śaivāgama*. The *Skandayāmala* gives a new list, entirely different from the earlier version of whom four take their names from the common root, Caṇḍā who are the same as no. 3 of the earlier version. It suggests that what was basically one, branched off into four distinct types later.[22] Other types are the following: Mahālakṣmī, Kṣemaṅkarī, Harasiddhī, Rudrā, Sacī, Śaivā, Krūrā, Navamī, Rudrāṁśa- (cf. Rudrā), Vana-, Agni-, Jayā-, Vindhyavāsinī-, Ripumārī-, Mūla- and Soḍaśabhuja-, all from Rudrāṁśa- onwards bear the suffix - Durgā.

At this juncture a discussion regarding the significance of the name, Durgā, is essential. In the connection two important *ślokas* from the *DevīM* may be taken into account to point out the basic contradictions centering around the connotation of the name. In the invocatory verse, dealing with a section of *DevīM*, called Argala-*stotram* in the *Pūrvabhāga*, the *ṛṣi* Mārkaṇḍeya, who preaches the text, says, "the Supreme Devī is called Jayantī, Maṅgalā, Kālī, Bhadrakālī, Kapālinī, Durgā, Kṣamā, Śivā, Dhātrī, Svāhā and Svadhā". The relevant *śloka* runs as follows:

Jayantī Maṅgalā Kālī Bhadrakālī Kapālinī
Durgā Kṣamā Śivā Dhātrī Svāhā Svadhā namostute.

What is significant in this version is the insignificance of Durgā as she appears among a host of deities, one among the many. In the same section of *DevīM* under the head *Navākṣarī-vivecanam* another *dhyānaśloka* invokes the Mother Goddess as follows: "Mother, you destroyed Madhu-Kaiṭabha, took away the life of Mahiṣāsura, sportively slayed

Dhūmralocana, destroyed Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa, rooted out Raktabīja, destroyed Niśuṁbha-Śuṁbha; O! You eternal! Durgā! salutation to thee, Aṁbikā". The relevant *śloka* is:

> *Mātarme Madhukaiṭabhaghni Mahiṣāprāṇapahārodhyame*
> *Helānirmita Dhūmralaocanavadhe he caṇḍamuṇḍārddini*
> *Niśśeṣīkṛta Raktabījadahuje nitye Niśuṁbhāpahe*
> *Śuṁbhadvaṁsini saṁharāśu duritaṁ Durge Namastembike.*

The importance of the version is exaltation of Durgā to a supreme status, identified with the great Mother, Devī or Aṁbikā, who killed a number of demons. It has been earlier pointed out, basing on another reference in the *DevīM* (*supra*), that Durgā is so-called for slaying Durgama. Now, the problem is: Is Durgā a common name like Śakti, Devī or Aṁbikā? or a specific name, denoting a particular aspect of the goddess, as is Mahiṣāsuramardinī[23] or Kālī. I am inclined to subscribe to the latter view for several reasons. The text with which we deal is called *DevīM* and not *Durgāmāhātmyam*. That is to emphasise Devī is a common name and not Durgā. It may also be pointed out that the *Devī-M* is also known as *Durgāsaptasatī* in North India. I am of the opinion that it is only a popular name and may be of later origin, which could have come into vogue due to the overwhelming popularity of Durgā to elevate the status of Durgā to a superior position. It may also be recapitulated here that the names, *Caṇḍīsaptaśatī* and *Caṇḍikāstotram*, are other names of the text as noted in the *DevīM* itself. Even these two names are likely to have originated due to the popularity of Caṇḍī or Caṇḍikā cult and thus these are to be placed on the same plane with Durgā. Durgā has an exclusive connotation of her own as she is associated with slaughter of Durgama and that the *śilpa* texts enumerate several of her iconographical forms in great detail, which idea had considerably developed to enable the formulation of not less than twenty-five typologies.

The Mātṛkas:

The *DevīM* presents three different versions of the Mātṛkas under different contexts. The *Kavacam* in *Pūrvabhāga* (vv. 8-12) speaks about the Sapta Mātṛkas. They are Cāmuṇḍā, Varāhī, Aindrī, Vaiṣṇavī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī and Brāhmī whose *vāhanas* 'vehicles' are the *preta* 'corpse', *mahiṣa* 'buffalo', *gaja* 'elephant', *garuḍa* 'eagle', *vṛṣabha* 'bull', *sikhi* 'peacock' and *hamsa* 'swan' respectively. All are decked with *nānābharaṇa* 'various ornaments' studded with *nānāratna* 'various gems'. They bear the following weapons: *śaṅkha* 'conch-shell', *cakra* 'disc', *gadā* 'mace', *śakti* 'lance', *hala* 'plough-share', *muśala* 'pestle', *kheṭaka* 'shield', *tomara* 'javelin', *paraśu* 'battle axe', *pāśa* 'noose', *kunta* 'spear' or 'barbed dart', *triśūla* 'trident' and *śārṅga* a 'bow'.[24]

The chapter dealing with the slaughter of Raktabīja (*adhyāya* 8), called Raktabīja-*vadham*, traces the origin of the Mātṛkas. Those who are said to have assisted Devī in the present venture are Brāhmaṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Narasiṁhī and

Aindrī. Devī appearing in the battlefield was surrounded by these Śaktis and their assistants. In view of this the *LSN* (67) gives her the epithet *Aśvarūḍhādhiṣṭitāśvakoṭi-koṭibhirāvṛtā*, meaning thereby that the Devī, called Aśvarūḍhā, was supported by crores and crores of horses, carrying an army of Śaktis. Of the Mātṛkas, Brāhmaṇī was one who had the *hamsa-vāhana*; bearing the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* in hands. Maheśvarī had the *vṛṣabha-vāhana*. Bearing the *triśūla*, she was decked with *sarpa-keyūras* 'snake armlets' and the *ardhacandra* 'digital moon' on head. Kaumārī had the *mayūra-vāhana* and wielded the *śakti* in a hand. She is called Guharūpinī, one in the (female) form of Guha or Skanda. Vaiṣṇavī had the *garuḍa-vāhana*; bearing the *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, śāṛṅga* and *khaḍga* in hands. Varāhī was in the form of Yajñavarāha. Narasiṁhī, whose manes were erect, *ūrdhvakeśinī*, was in the Nṛsiṁha form. Aindrī was thousand-eyed and seated on *gaja-vāhana*. All of them are said to have assisted the core Devī in a battle against Raktabīja and enabled the slaughter of the demon. Raktabīja-*vadham* was the concerted effort of the Devī and her assistants, the Mātṛkas. By the way the reason for the origin of the Mātṛkas is pointed out. It may be noted here that seven of the Mātṛkas are traced of whom one is Narasiṁhī, added to the earlier list, while Cāmuṇḍā is omitted. But Caṇḍikā, Kauśikā or Śivadūti is mentioned in the same place (*adhyāya* 8, v. 28) as an emanation from the primordial Devī who may be treated as an equivalent of Cāmuṇḍā. She is called Śivadūti because she despatched Śiva as her *dūta* 'messenger' to Raktabīja, asking him to surrender or face the consequences. It appears that Caṇḍikā, Kauśikā and Śivadūti are to be treated as one and the same, placed on par with Cāmuṇḍā. It is also to be surmised that Caṇḍikā or Cāmuṇḍā is foremost among the Mātṛkas who represents the core Devī. In the earlier version of Sapta Mātṛkas also Cāmuṇḍā gets the first place. Another noteworthy point is the emergence of Nṛsiṁhī as a Mātṛka, making the total eight, and thus we get an idea of Aṣṭa Mātṛkas.

The chapter following the slaughter of Śuṁbha, entitled *Devīstuti* (*adhyāya* 11), presents an account of the Mātṛkas and their iconographical attributes. Though a number of the forms of Devī[25] are invoked and identified with the Ultimate Cosmic Śakti, the Mātṛkas receive priority with regard to figurative attributes (*DevīM*, *adhyāya* 11, vv. 13-21). Brāhmaṇī is said to ride a chariot, drawn by a swan. Maheśvarī-*svarūpa*, the Devī of the form of Maheśvara, is provided with the *vṛṣabhavāhana* who holds the *triśūla* and adorned with snakes and the digital moon. Kaumārī-*rūpī* is one who has either the *mayura* or *kukuṭa* 'cock' vehicle, *mayūra kukuṭa vṛte* as the text puts it.[26] Her weapon is the *mahāśakti*. Vaiṣṇavī-*rūpī* is one endowed with the *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā* and *dhanus*. *Varāha-rūpī* is one having large canine teeth and holding a terrific *mahā-cakra*. She bears Bhūdevī on her tusk. Nṛsiṁha-*rūpī* is invoked as one who incarnated to destroy demons and protect the three worlds. She is terrific in form. Indra-*śakti* is 1000 eyed and luminous. She is said to have slaughtered the demon, Vṛtrāsura and so called Vṛtrāprānahare (*supra*). Then, follows an account of Śivaraudra-*rūpī* who is *ghora* 'terrific', creating a fearsome noise and *mahābala* 'very strong'. Cāmuṇḍā has protruding teeth, wears a *śiromālā* 'garland of (human) heads', and killed Muṇḍāsura. All these manifestations of Śakti are identified with Nārāyaṇī in the respective *ślokas* attributed to each, and every one invoked with the words, *Nārāyaṇī namostute*.

An important idea, which stands behind the Sapta Mātṛka concept is the feminization of masculine deities, which process is likely to have gained momentum around the 5th-6th centuries A.D. as a result of Ādi Śaṅkara's perspective of Śakti (*supra*) as an all-pervasive Cosmic force. The idea gets strengthened when we take into account the monumental remains of the early medieval period (e.g. Elephanta, Ellora, Māmallapuram and Aihole) wherein Sapta Mātṛka is a popular artistic idiom. The process continued to progress during the later period as a number of other male deities[27] are feminized.[28] The pioneering seven remained the same all through the ages while Nṛsiṁhī was added later and the phrase 'Aṣṭa Mātṛka' coined. Then came Nārāyaṇī and a host of others of which the following deserve a worthy note who constitute the several lists of Yoginīs (Dehejia 1986: 194-218): Bhairavī, Yoginī, Kapālinī, Īśānī, Nandinī, Vīrabhadrā, Śarabhānanā, Varuṇī, Agneyā, Yamyā, Nirṛttī, Vāyavyā, Viṇāyakī and Sukhī (*supra*, n. 28). It is a pointer to the trends by which the Śākta tradition, both mythology and iconography, was proliferating. The entire galaxy of gods belonging to the various sub-sects of Hinduism were feminized and thus an independent status for the Śākta community,[29] totally undependent upon cults of masculine superiority, claimed. That is why the entire group of *dikpālakas*, many of Śaiva (including Vīrabhadra)[30] lineage, Vaiṣṇava gods and the parrot-headed *brahmarṣi*[31] were feminized. Thus, Śākta cult ideology and iconographical concepts reach their high watermark, taking their germs of origin in the *DevīM*.

Apart from the *DevīM* a number of other *purāṇas*, *śilpaśāstras*, *āgamas* and *tantras* deal with the iconographical features of the Mātṛkas, which have been adequately examined by earlier writers on the subject.[32] Rao (1971: 379-80), followed by Gupte (1972: 56-7), traces an interesting account of the origin of the Mātṛkas from an unquoted source[33] according to which they were created to serve as Śiva's *aide de camp* in his war against Andhakāsura and his associates, *gajāsura* and Nīla. It is very striking in the sense that we have a monumental piece, illustrating the theme, in the plinth part of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* at Ellora (Cave XVI, the Kailāsa monolithic temple) wherein the Mātṛkas appear in dwarfish form, below the Lord's foot. The notes supplied by the *Mayamata* is significant in as far as it avers that the Mātṛkas are to be flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. In most early medieval and later representations the mandate has been assiduously followed. We have a number of such illustrations among the Hindu group of caves at Ellora itself (e.g. caves XIV, XVI, XXI & XXII). The *Śrītattvanidhi* (I: 75-7) speaks of three types of Varāhīs called Daṇḍinivārāhī, Svapnavārāhī and *Suddhavārāhī*.[34] The number of Mātṛkas according to the *Pañcarakṣa* is twelve.

A rare note is supplied by the *Cilappatikāram (supra)* on Koṟṟavai,[35] treated as a equivalent of Mahiṣāmardinī. In the connection several of the Devī's names are mentioned. She is called *kalaiyamarcelvi* 'the mistress seated on deer'. Her other names are Amari, Kumari, Kavuri, Camari, Cūli (cf. Śūleśvarī), Nīli, Caṅkari (cf. Śaṅkarī), Antari (Aindrī ?) and Koṟṟavai. She is supposed to be the younger sister of Viṣṇu (T. Māl or Tirumāl), *Mālavarku iḷaṅkilai* (cf. Padmanābhasahodarī).[36] In another context Koṟṟavai is called the younger sister of the senior six, *aruvarkkiḷaiyanaṅkai (Cilappatikāram, Vaḻakkuraikātai*, 11. 34-40). These references are very striking in the present context in as far as they help a reestimate of the Śākta tradition as noted in connection with Ādi Śaṅkara. It is of special interest to note Koṟṟavai being assigned the deer vehicle, which none of the Mātṛkas possess according to the Sanskritic sources.[37] It is likely that the *Cilappatikāram* represents an antique tradition, later adapted by the Sanskritic line of thought. If viewed in the context, even Ādi Śaṅkara's perspective of Śakti need not have been an innovation of the *adhvaitin* himself but the general pooling of an idea prevalent in the then Tamil country, which in those times included Kerala. It is likely to be an early pan-Drāviḍian concept, synthesising with the Sanskritic channels of cult ideology (*supra*).

Mahālakṣmī:

The iconographical features of Mahālakṣmī are described in three different contexts in the *DevīM*. She is called Śrīdevī (*adhyāya* 4 under Devīstuti), Viṣṇu-śakti, Nārāyaṇī, Lakṣmī and Lajjā (*adhyāya* 11, vv. 5, 8-22), Dhanurdharī 'bearer of bow', Nṛsiṁhī, Śrīdharī, Padmāvatī and Caṅkinī (*Pūrvabhāga, kavaca*) form part of the Virāṭ-śakti (*supra*). Dhanurdhara is an important epithet which is attributed to Śrī Rāma (i.e., Dāśarathi-Rāma) according to the *Śrī Rāma-aṣṭottaram*. Herein, we are to preseume that a feminine edition of Śrī Rāma (?) is hinted at. Likewise, Śrīdharī is an interesting epithet. Suggesting a female version of Śrīdhara, the Lord Viṣṇu who is supposed to possess, Śrī or Lakṣmī, in his right chest,[38] it avers that the goddess has Śrī in her heart. It is a paradoxical attribute, meaning Śrī possessing Śrī in heart. May be that the primary figure here is identified with the core śakti who possesses Śrī in the heart.

The section called *athamadhyama-caritram*, preceeding chapter II, describes Mahālakṣmī in its *dhyāna* part. Detailing the iconographical attributes, it is added that the Devī who slaughtered Mahiṣāsura was Mahālakṣmī. She is eighteen-handed *aṣṭadaśabhuja*, and holds the following: *akṣamālā, paraśu, gadā, bāṇa, kuliśa, padma, dhanus, kuṇḍika, daṇḍa, śakti, khaḍga, carma, śaṅkha, ghaṇṭa, madhupātra, śūla, pāśa* and *cakra*. These attributes are of special importance because they suggest a fusion of the energies of Śiva (*carma, madhupātra, śūla* and *pāśa*), Viṣṇu (*śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, dhanus* and *paraśu*), Brahmā (*akṣamālā*) and Kumāra (*śakti*). The purport behind the fusion is obvious. Mahālakṣmī is viewed as a composite Ādiśakti or Parāśakti who according to the *Devībhāgavata* (Book V) is the killer of Mahiṣāsura. What finds a rudimentary expression in the *DevīM* is elaborated by the *Devībhāgavata* later.

Then follows a description of Mahālakṣmī, next to chapter XIII, called *Pradhānikarahasyam*. She is *caturbhuja*, holding the *mātuliṅga* 'citron fruit', *gadā*, *kheṭaka* and *pānapātra* 'vessel of intoxicants'. She is of the colour of molten gold who pervades through the cosmic *sūnya* 'darkness' in both visible and invisible forms. She is an embodiment of *triguṇa*.[39] From her *tāmasa* aspect originated Kālarātrī or Kālī and *sattva* aspect Sarasvatī. It was Sarasvatī who created the Trimūrtis (Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā) and then the cosmos. The third description of Mahālakṣmī appears in the section dealing with *Vaikṛtikarahasyam* (vv. 7-12). The goddess is said to be an embodiment of *triguṇa-prakṛti*, luminous and having a white face, dark hands, white breasts, red lips, red feet, dark thighs and legs. She is 1000 handed and decorated with all kinds of ornaments. In eighteen of the hands she bears the following: *akṣamālā, padma, bāṇa, khaḍga, vajra, gadā, cakra, triśūla, paraśu, śaṅkha, ghaṇṭa, pāśa, śakti, daṇḍa, kheṭaka, dhanus, pānapātra* and *kamaṇḍalū*. She is seated on *kamalāsana*.

As an iconographical theme Mahālakṣmī is described in the *Viśvakarmaśilpaśāstra*. Lakṣmī's features are elaborated in *Aṁsumadbhedāgama, Śilparatna, Pūrvakāraṇāgama, Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Śrītattvanidhi* (Rao 1971: I, II, 133-6). The *Śrītattvanidhi* (I: 108-16) speaks of *Aṣṭa* 'eight' Mahālakṣmīs who are *Dvibhuja*-lakṣmī, Mahālakṣmī (both from *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda*), Gajalakṣmī, Vīralakṣmī, *Dvibhuja*-vīralakṣmī, *Aṣṭabhuja*-vīralakṣmī (all from *Pāñcarātrāgama*), Śrīdevi (from *Mayūkhaṁ*) and Prasannalakṣmī (from *Atharvaṇa-rahasyam*). There are also *parivāra-śaktis* of Viṣṇu, which list includes Śrīdevī, Bhūdevī, Sarasvatī, Prītī, Sāntī, Kīrtī, Duṣṭī and Puṣṭī (*Padma Purāṇa*, cf. Vol. I for a similar list based on *Matsya Purāṇa*).

Mahāsarasvatī:

The *DevīM* enlists the various epithets in its *Pradhānika-rahasya* section. They are Mahāvidhyā, Mahāvāṇī, Bhārati, Vāk, Sarasvatī, Ārya, Brahmī,[40] Kāmadhenu, Bījagarbha and Dhīsvarī 'ruler of intellect', Sarvamaṅgalā (= Vākdevī ? because she presides over *vāk* 'speech') and Vāgīśvarī (*supra*).

The *Athauttama-caritīram: Nyāsa*, following *adhyāya* IV, consists of a *dhyānaśloka* on Mahāsarasvatī. She is said to have annihilated the demons, Śuṁbha *et alii*. Born out of Gaurī, she was glittering like the moon and the fountainhead of three worlds. Her attributes are the *ghaṇṭa, śūla, hala, śaṅkha, muśala, cakra, dhanus* and *bāṇa*. It is strange to note that none of the characteristic emblems of Sarasvatī like *akṣamālā, vīṇā*, and *puṣtaka* are provided. On the other hand, Śaiva (*śūla*) and Vaiṣṇava (*śaṅkha* and *cakra*) emblems are attributed.

The *Pradhānika-rahasyam*, dealing with the origin of the three principal Śaktis, considers Sarasvatī as on emanation from Mahālakṣmī's *sattvaguṇa*. She is *caturbhuja*, bearing the *akṣamālā, aṅkuśa, vīṇā* and *puṣtaka*.

The *Vaikṛtika-rahasyam* part of *DevīM* deals with the origin of Sarasvatī as an emanation from the *sattva* quality of *triguṇa*-Ādiśakti. She is said to have slaughtered Śuṁbhāsura. She is *aṣṭabhuja*, bearing the *bāṇa*, *muśala*, *śūla*, *cakra*, *śaṅkha*, *ghaṇṭa* and *lāṅgalam* 'ploughshare'. Strikingly enough, the present version agrees with that of Mahāsarasvatī, noted above, and fails to take into account the characteristic attributes of the concerned Devī.

Others dealing with the iconographical features of Sarasvatī are *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, *Pūruvakāraṇāgama*, *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*, all of which excepting the *Skanda Purāṇa* prescribe either the *puṣṭaka* or *akṣamālā* or both.

The *Śrītattvanidhi* (I: 86, 100-3) speaks of four Devīs who bear *lakṣaṇas* characteristic of Sarasvatī. Basing its authority on the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the features of Gāyatrīdevī, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī are elaborated. Gāyatrīdevī holds the *kamaṇḍalū* and *sruva*,[41] and seated upon a *padmāsana*, her *vāhana* is the *hamsa*. Sāvitrī is *caturmukha* 'four faced', wears white garments and holds the *rudrākṣamālā* while the *vāhana* is *vṛṣabha*. She is called Rudra-*svarūpinī*. Sarasvatī is *caturbhuja*, holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* whose *vāhana* is *garuḍa*. She is said to be Viṣṇu-*svarūpinī*. The features of Śrīvidhyādevī are elaborated as gleaned from a text called *Mahālakṣmīratnakośa* according to which the goddess is terrific but holds a *vīṇā*. She is the wife of Śaṅkara.

Mahākālī:

Kālī is so called because of her colour, *kālā* the 'black' one. The *DevīM* avers that on the occasion of the slaughter of Śuṁbha-Niśuṁha, Kauśikā was created from out of a lump of Devī's bodily impurities who because of her colour (i.e., black) got the name Kālī. In another context, i.e., the Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa *vadham*, it is stated that the Devī acquired the terrific form of Kālī as a result of her *krodha* 'anger' reaching the zenith when she met the demons first. Generally, mythological versions assign the birth of Kālī to the Nanda family in Gokula where Kṛṣṇa, son of Vāsudeva and Devakī, was brought up. In tune with the popular myth *DevīM* calls her Nanda-śakti (*Pūrvabhāga, Athaprathamacaritram*) and Nandabhagavatī or Nandajā (*Mūrti-rahasyam*). According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*Skandha* X, ch. 2) it was Yoga Māyā who transferred the foetus when Devakī conceived for the seventh time into Yaśodhā's uterus which developed into Balarāma. On that occassion, the goddess is invoked with various names such as Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Vijayā, Vaiṣṇavī, Kumudā, Caṇḍikā, Kṛṣṇā, Mādhavī, Kanyakā, Māyā, Īśānī, Śāradā and Aṁbikā. Later when Kṛṣṇa was born as Devakī's eighth boy, he was secretly transported to the Yādava quarters in Gokula and the female baby, born to Yaśodhā, was brought to the prison where Devakī and her husband were lodged. Kaṁsa, king of Bhojas and Devakī's uterine brother, had decided to kill all her babies and tried with the duplicated eighth one also. But she slipped out of his grip, soared into the skies and assumed the form of a terrific *aṣṭabhuja*-Kālī. She held the bow, spear, arrow, shield, sword, conch-shell, discus and mace in hands (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Skandha* X, ch. 4). The *DevīM* calls her with various epithets like Kālikā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālyā, Mahākālā and Mahāmārī. She was created out of the *tāmasa-guṇa* of Mahālakṣmī and herself asked the Supreme Devī to give her a name upon which she was called Kālarātrī, Mahāmāyā, Mahākālī, Mahāmārī, Kṣudha, Tṛṣa, Nidrā, Tṛṣṇā and Ekavīra (*DevīM, Pradhānika Rahasyam*, v. 12).

Several versions of Kālī appear in the *DevīM*. The Mahākālī-*dhyānaśloka* (*Pūrvabhāga, Athaprathamacaritram*), appearing prior to the chapter dealing with Madhu-Kaiṭabha *vadham*, calls her Nanda-śakti who enabled Viṣṇu to slaughter the twin-demons. According to the story, when Viṣṇu was asleep (i.e. *yoganidrā*) Madhu and Kaiṭabha attempted to kill him. Brahmā, who was seated on Viṣṇu's *padmānabha* 'lotus on navel', appealed to Mahākālī to come to their rescue. He visualised the Devī in the *daśabhuja* form; holding *khaḍga, cakra, gadā, bāṇa, dhanus, parigha, śūla, bhusuṇḍi, śira* and *śaṅkha*. She had three eyes and ten faces, wearing a blue gem. Then on the occasion of the Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa *vadham*, the core Aṁbikā turned black in colour due to unrestrainable wrath at the demonic forces and assumed the Kālī form. She was *caturbhuja*; bearing the *khaḍga, pāśa* and *khaṭvaṅga*. She wore a *naramālā* 'garland of corpses', a tiger skin as her garment and presented an emaciated apearance and thus terrific. Her mouth was wide with a dangling tongue and eyes deeply burried into swollen cavities.[42] She was seated upon the *siṁhavāhana*. After having slaughtered the demons, Kālī is given the name Cāmuṇḍā, the Killer of 'Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa'.

The *Pradhānikarahasyam* section of the *DevīM* which traces the emanations of Trimūrti-śaktis from the core *triguṇa*-Ādiśakti considers Mahākālī as a manifestation of the latter's *tāmasa-guṇa*. She had protruding teeth, wide eyes, narrow hip and was dark in colour. She was *caturbhuja*, bearing the *khaḍga, pātra* (liquor vessel ?), *śira* and *kheṭaka*. She wore a *kabandhahāram* 'garland of headless human bodies' on the head. A similar version is attempted in the *vaikṛtikarahasyam* section of *DevīM* according to which the manifestation of Ādiśakti's *tāmasa-guṇa* is variously called Sarvā, Caṇḍikā, Durgā, Bhadrā, Bhagavatī and Mahākālī. She is the *pradāna-Śakti* 'first among Devīs' of all the *triguṇa* manifestations who has ten heads, ten arms, ten legs and thirty eyes. Black in colour, she has a terrific gesture by virtue of the protruding teeth. The objects fitted to the *daśabhujas* are *khaḍga, dhanus, gadā, śūla, cakra, pāśa, bhusuṇḍi, parigha, dhanus* and a blood-strained human head. The *Devīstuti* (*adhyāya* XI, v. 26), following slaughter of Śuṁbha, has a verse invoking Bhadrakālī who holds the *triśūla* and is surrounded by halo of *jvāla*.

A graphic account of Kālī is presented in the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* (*cakra* 23). According to the version Rāma and Sītā challenged *Sahasramukha*-Rāvaṇa, a brother of *Daśagrīva*-Rāvaṇa, in a contest. Rāma was defeated by the mighty demon and slain in battle. Thereupon, Sītā roared terribly and assumed a fearsome form, the Mahākālī. She had cave like eyes, sturdy legs and presented a terrific form. Her tongue was oscillating like a pendulum. She wore a garland of bones and skulls. She had hairs all over the body and was as dark as the clouds. She stood upon the *sava* 'corpse' of Śiva who had laid himself in *pretāsana* position in order to save the Earth Goddess who could not bear the strokes of the dancing Kālī. It is an important addition to the imagery of Kālī because in Eastern India and parts of Central India Kālī dancing upon Śiva's corpse is very popular. The texual version and iconographical representations of the typology exhibit a profound dose of the tantric impact.

The *Śrītattvanidhi* (I. 3, 35, 63) quotes three texual sources, viz., *Caṇḍikalpa*, *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda* and *Kāraṇāgama* while dealing with Mahākālī, *aṣṭadaśabhuja*-Bhadrakālī and *Aṣṭabhuja*-Kālī. Mahākālī is of the same typology, noted in connection with the destruction of Madhu-Kaiṭabha in the *DevīM*. Bhadrakālī with eighteen hands is in *ālīḍha* posture and standing upon a chariot, pulled by four lions. She holds the *japamālā, triśūla, khaḍga, kheṭaka, bāṇa, dhanus, śaṅkha, padma, sruk, sruva, kamaṇḍalū, daṇḍa, śakti, kṛṣṇajīna* 'hide of deer', *agni, abhayamudrā, varadamudrā* and *ratnapātra* 'vessel of gems'. *Aṣṭabhuja*-Kālī is stumpy in shape and of the colour of black clouds. She bears the *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, kuṁbha* 'pitcher', *muśala, aṅkuśa, pāśa* and *vajra*. The *Caṇḍi Purāṇa* of Saralādāsa makes note of Kaṅkālī whose *vāhana* is the peacock (Dehejia 1986: 200). She forms part of the Yoginīs as are Kālī, Mahākālī, Bhadrakālī and Kālinī.

Miscellaneous Forms:

Rātridevī is a personification of *rātri* 'night', darkness. She is the sister of *sandhyā* 'dawn' and daugher of *sūrya* 'sun'. She is also called Uṣādevī. She spills darkness everywhere and annihilates the same by reluming light (*DevīM, Rātrisuktam*). The *DevīM* (*adhyāya* XI, v. 22) also makes a note of Mahārātri while recounting the various epithets of Devī under *Devīstuti*. Apart from them, another form called Kālarātrī is noted twice as part and parcel of Virāṭ-śakti (*Kavacam*, v. 32), a member of the Navadurgās (*ibid*, v. 4). There is a detailed description of Kālarātrī in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. She has a single braid, decorated with flowers on ears, has hanging lips and the body in flexion. All over the body she is smeared with oil. A donkey is her *vāhana*. She is decorated with thorns and creepers, bearing a flag on head. She evokes fear and is black in colour. The *Śrītattvanidhi* (I: 130), citing the *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda*, presents a similar account of Kālarātrī and adds that she wears an iron anklet, a garland made of the bones of fish etc.[43] and a decapitated human head appearing on her flag.

Argala is another form of Devī for whom a section of the *DevīM* is dedicated, called *Argala-stotram*. The invocatory verse of the section identifies the Supreme Mother with Argala and says that she is known by the names Jayantī, Maṅgalā, Kālī, Bhadrakālī, Kapālinī, Durgā, Kṣamā, Śivā, Dhātrī, Svāhā and Svadhā. She is called Caṇḍikā,Parameśvarī, Devī and Aṁbikā. In addition, the heroic ventures against demons like Madhu, Kaiṭabha, Mahiṣāsura, Raktabīja, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa are attributed to her. The perspective in *Argala-stotram* is such that she is identified with the core Ādiśakti.

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294.5
KAL-E

Though no detailed iconographical description of Argala is attempted, it is added that her hands are four. The *DevīM* appears to be the source of Argala who fails to find a place in the various lists of Yoginīs.

The *Mūrtirahasyam* section of *DevīM* speaks of Raktadantikā, Sākambharī, Bhīma, Bramārī and Mahāmārī. Raktadantikā is characterised by the *rakta* 'blood (red)' colour; her garments, body, eyes, teeth and weapons being of that dye. The *Devīstuti* (*adhyāya* XI, vv. 44-5) explains the source of the epithet and adds that she is to be called Raktadantikā in view of her teeth acquiring the blood-red colour when devouring demons. She has brown locks of hair and presents a terrific personality. She has sharp nails. Another typology is called Raktacāmuṇḍā who holds the *khaḍga, pātra, muśala* and *lāṅgala* in four hands. She is also called Yogīśvarī. The problem now is whether Raktadantikā and Raktacāmuṇḍā are different personalities or one and the same. The *Rūpamaṇḍana* lends a helping hand in this regard. It speaks about Raktacāmuṇḍā as a *caturbhuja-mūrti*: holding the *khaḍga, pātra, muśala* and *lāṅgala*. An all pervading force, she is also called Yogīśvarī whose teeth are blood strained *raktadantya* (*rakta* 'blood' and *ḍanta* 'tooth'). According to the version both appear to be one and the same. Yogīśvarī is described in the *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya* as a *daśabhuja*-mūrti; holding the *śāstra, śakti, asi* 'sword', *ḍamarū, ghaṇṭa, kheṭaka, khaṭvaṅga* and *triśūla*. She is *trinetra*. Sākambharī is blue in colour and has black eyes like the *nīlotphala* flower. Seated on a *kamalāsana*, her belly is three folded. She is *caturbhuja*; bearing *padma, bāṇas* in a bunch, *puṣpa* and tender creepers, all capable of removing hunger, thirst and heat. She is called by various names like Śaḍākṣī, Umā, Gaurī, Satī, Caṇḍī, Kālikā and Pārvatī. Citing the *Padma Purāṇa*, the *Śrītattvanidhi* (I: 89) speaks of Sākambharī as a *ṣoḍaśabhuja-mūrti*; bearing *śūla, pāśa, kapāla, dhanus, vajra, bāṇa, aṅkuśa, kheṭaka, śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, nāga, khaḍga, abhayamudrā, khaṭvaṅga* and *daṇḍa*. She is the protector of *muni-gaṇas* 'sages' who suffer during the non-monson periods. Devī provides them with edible roots and fruits. The cosmic creator, she is the consort of Maheśvara. Bhīmā is blue in colour. She has wide eyes. Also called Ekavīra, Kālarātrī and Kāmadā; she bears the *candrahāsa* 'a sword', *ḍamarū* and *pānapātra* in hands. Bramārī is so luminous that none can look at her. She is encircled by a *prabhāvali* of molten fire and smeared with sandal paste (to quench the heat ?). Mahāmārī is said to bear a curious bee in her hand. Mahāmārī is also part of Virāṭ-śakti and noted in *Phalastuti* section of *DevīM* (*adhyāya* XII, v. 38). With reference to Bramārī and Mahāmārī, it may be added that Mārī is the common genre in both cases. We also have Kaumārī under the Sapta Mātṛkas. *Māri* in Tamil means rain and a village goddess of the name is very popular in Tamil Nadu who is offered blood sacrifices during the mid-summer and propitiated to ward off pestilences, occuring as a result of the failure of rains. All these Sanskritised deities may have their roots in the Drāviḍian goddess of yore, adored by Ādi-Drāviḍas.

Another important attribute provided to Devī is the *dikpālikā* 'directional deity' status. In the Hindu pantheon the eight directional gods are Indra (east), Agni (south-east),

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Yama (south), Nirṛtti (south-west), Varuṇa (west), Vāyu (north-west), Kubera (north) and Īśāna (north-east). The *DevīM* notes some of the Devīs as guardians of directions. They are Aindrī (east), Agni (devī) (south-east), Varāhī (south), Khaḍgadhāriṇī (south-west), Varuṇī (west), Mṛgavāhinī-Vāyuśakti (north-west), Kaumārī (north) and Śūladhārinī (north-east). Added to them are Brāhmaṇī above and Vaiṣṇavī below while all the ten directions are guarded by *savavāhana* 'corpse vehicle' Cāmuṇḍā as an over-all controller. It is an important aspect of Śakti iconography, though no detailed information is provided. It points out the perspectives of the Śākta tradition that was striving to establish a pantheon of its own, including the *dikpālikās*.

Devīmāhātmyam 'Glories of Devī':

The most important part of *DevīM* relates to Devī's heroic exploits against demonic activities. The general approach in Hindu mythology is the multiplication of evil powers, *pariturāṇāya sādhūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām* as the *Bhagavat Gītā* (IV: 8) puts it. In similar veins, Devī expresses her willingness to destroy evil ones in order to protect *dharmātmas* (*Adhyāya* XI. *Devīstuti*, vv. 44-53). The *LSN* (5 & 64), therefore, gives her the epithets: *Devakāryasamudhyatā* 'one who incarnates on divine missions (to destroy evil-mongers and to safeguard righteousness)' and *Devarṣigaṇasaṅghātastūyamānātmavaibhava* 'one who manifests (in different forms) to fulfill the prayers (seeking protection from evil forces) of gods, seers and *gaṇas*'. The *DevīM* is basically a text, as is *Devībhāgavata*, retelling Devī's glory, eulogising her heroic ventures against demons of miraculous power. The *Argala-stotram* (vv. 3-5) and *Navākṣarīvivecanam* sections of *DevīM* present in a quintessential form the various exploits of Devī which are further elaborated in a number of chapters.

The first chapter deals with the extermination of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the twin-demons, who were born out of Viṣṇu's ear vax. When Viṣṇu was engaged in *yoganidra* at the end of a *kalpa* 'great aeon', the demons were born and threatened to destroy the Lord himself. Brahmā who was born in the lotus, emanating from Viṣṇu's navel, was awake and appealed to the Supreme Mother in great consternation. Nidrādevī who presides over *nidrā* 'sleep' was praised with various epithets like Sandhyā, Sāvitrī, Īśvarī and Harī. The goddess removed the veil of sleep and emerged through Viṣṇu's eyes, mouth, nose, shoulders, heart and chest. Having been animated to action through the *śakti* of Nidrādevī, Viṣṇu engaged himself by killing the demons by releasing his *cakrāyudha*. The goddess who enabled the feat is called Caṇḍikā and Jaganmūrti who pervades through the cosmos, *sarvamidam tatam*. The slaughter of Madhu-Kaiṭabha is basically a success, which goes to the credit of Viṣṇu but the *DevīM* claims it for Devī since it was she who animated the inanimate (i.e. sleeping).

The second and third chapters deal with *Mahiṣāsurasainyavadham* (rendition of Mahiṣāsura's army) and Mahiṣāsura *vadham* (slaughter of Mahiṣāsura) respectively. The community of gods, representing righteous elements, at the commencement of the second chapter, represent their grievances to the Trimūrtis (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva), having been oppressed by forces of Mahiṣāsura 'buffalo demon', representing evil elements. On hearing it, the principal gods resolved to merge their potencies in the form of a woman, able to slaughter the arch-demon since he had obtained immunity of death from any male power. The various organs of the great woman were formed by the effulgences, released by the great gods as follows: Śaṁbhu-Śiva face, Yama hairs, Viṣṇu hands, Candra breasts, Indra hip, Varuṇa thighs, Bhūdevī back, Brahmā feet, Sūrya fingers of legs, Vasus fingers of hands, Kubera nose, Prajāpati teeth, Agni three eyes, Sandhyā eye-brows, Vāyu ears, and all other gods Devī's lustre and illumination. Having created a composite Śakti who could respond to Mahiṣāsura's challenge, the Gods equipped her by contributing their choicest weapons and attributes. Śiva gave her the *triśūla*, Viṣṇu *cakra*, Varuṇa *śaṅkha* and *pāśa*, Agni *śakti*, Vāyu *dhanus* and *bāṇas*, Indra *vajra*, Yama *daṇḍa*, Brahmā *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*, Sūrya his rays of light, Kāla *kheṭaka*. Samudrarāja *hāra* and *vastra*, Viśvakarma various ornaments (like *kuṇḍalas, ardhacandra* and *keyūra*) and weapons (like *paraśu, astras* and *kavacas*), Himavan *siṁhavāhana*, Kubera *madhu-pātra*, Ādiśeṣa *nāgahāra* and other gods the other weapons and ornaments. Having been equipped well, the Goddess proceeded to the battlefield and confronted a host of generals sent by Mahiṣāsura. They were Ciksāsura, Udagrā, Mahāhanu, Asiloma and Parivārīta. All were destroyed.

The third chapter deals with the slaughter of Mahiṣāsura. The belligerent goddess is called Bhadrakālī, Mahādevī, Caṇḍikā and Jaganmātā. The part of the episode has been elaborated by several earlier writers and so suffice it to add here that the demon fought with Devi in various forms, transforming himself into a *mahiṣa, siṁha*, man and *gaja*. Devī had to encounter an arduous challenge, drank *madhu* 'wine' and ultimately cut him to pieces. The *Devīstuti*, following the *vadham*, invokes the killer-Mother with various epithets such as Caṇḍikā, Śrīdevī, Buddhī, Sraddhā, Devī, Svāhā, Svadhā, Prakṛtī, Durgā, Gaurī, Aṁbikā and Īśvarī. Elsewhere, the same goddess is called Kātyāyanī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahāsarasvatī. The iconographical features of Kātyāyanī are elaborated in the *Śilparatna, Māyādīpika, Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Sārasvatīyacitrakarmaśāstra*. Similarly Caṇḍikā is described in *Viṣṇudharmottara, Nṛsiṁhaprasāda* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

The fifth chapter traces the history of Śuṁbha and Niśuṁbha, associtès of Mahiṣāsura, who annoyed at the latter's slaughter wanted to wreck vengence on Devī. In their move, they mustered the assistance of a number of powerful demons like Caṇḍā, Muṇḍā, Raktabīja and Dhūmralocana. Basically Śuṁbha-Niśuṁbha had a weakness for women and were naturally provoked by the Devī's beauty. They first tried a concilliatory strategy by despatching a messenger, called Sugrīva, asking Devī to surrender and marry the arch-demon. Devī replies:

Yomaṁ jayati saṅgrāme yo me darpa vyapohati
Yo me pratibalo leke sa me bhartā bhaviṣyati

'One who defeats me in battle, curbs my pride and equals me in valour, shall be my husband'. On hearing the daring challenge[44] Dhūmralocana was despatched to render the submission of Devī. The event takes places in the next chapter (*adhyāya* VI). Dhūmaralocana is ordered to conquer Devī and drag her to the demon's court by holding her locks of hair.[45] When the demon reached the Devī's abode, he was burnt to ashes by her *hūṁkāra* voice. She did not even have to fight with him (cf. Granoff 1979: 139-51).

The seventh chapter deals with Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa *vadham*. When Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa arrived at the battlefield, Aṁbikā was enraged to the maximum and released Kālī from her own person to deal with the demons. Holding the *khaḍga, pāśa* and *khaṭvaṅga*, Kālī appeared emacitated and terrific. Seated on a lion, she devoured the assisting demons, pounced on Caṇḍa and severed his head. On seeing it, Muṇḍa rushed to the spot whom the Devī cut to pieces. Then, Kālī picked up the heads of both the demons and reported to Caṇḍikā that it was her own duty to take charge of Śuṁbha-Niśuṁbha. It was on this occassion that Kālī was named Cāmuṇḍā (*supra* p. 19).

The most interesting part of the *DevīM* relates to the slaughter of Raktabīja (*adhyāya* VIII). It represents the core divine and core demonic powers proliferating in a macrocosmic perspective, the former rendering ineffective the latter, and ultimately all converging into *bindu* or *bīja*, the microcosm wherein Devī (the *yoninilayā, LSN*. 895) resides. According to the mythology, after the slaughter of Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa, Śuṁbhāsura mustered his forces and went to the battlefield, followed by Kālakā, Daurhṛdā, Maurya and others. Devī to her part, mustered the support of the Mātṛkas; thus Brāhmaṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Nṛsiṁhī, Aindrī, Īśānā and Śivadūtī, joined her flanks. Śivadūtī sent Śiva as a *dūta* to the demonic front, asking them to surrender. When mediation failed, the battle commenced. Kātyāyanī appeared in the field and released *astras* 'missles'. Kālī stamped out the demons by her *khaṭvaṅga*. Brāhmaṇī sprinkled water from the *kamaṇḍalū* and rendered ineffective the demons using their *triśūla, cakra, śakti* and *vajra*. Varāhī used her snout, tusk and disc to attack the enemies. Nṛsiṁhī tore the demons with her sharp nails, devoured the demons and terrorised the camp by her thundering shouts. Śivadūti spread consternation by her *aṭṭahāsa* 'boastful roar' and devoured the *asuras*. The Mātṛ-*gaṇas* were active in like manner. At that time, Raktabīja entered the field. Indra-Śakti, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Kaumārī, Varāhī and Maheśvarī attacked him with their characteristic weapons. Raktabīja was fatally wounded several times, profusely bleeding, which to him was a blessing in disguise because each and every drop of his blood resurrected itself into a new demon of equal strength.[46] Enraged at the fantastic multiplication of *rakta-bīja*, Caṇḍikā ordered Kālī to stop the nuisance who utilised the chance to drink all drops of blood and rendered null and void the power of Raktabīja. Finally, Kauśika destroyed the 'blood demon'.

The ninth chapter deals with the slaughter of Niśuṁbha. The Devī, assisted by her Mātṛ-*gaṇas*, played havoc over the *asura-sainya* and fianlly cut Niśuṁbha's head. In the next chapter (*adhyāya* X) Śuṁbha meets Devī at last. He was upset by the activities of the Mātṛkas and told Devī that she was a power-monger and that her victory cannot be unique, being the result of what the Mātṛkas had achieved. Thereupon, all the Mātṛkas and other *gaṇas* merged into Kauśika as they were the *aṁśāvatāras* of the core Devī. In the ensuing battle Śuṁbha was slaughtered by the Devī's *śūla* thrust into his chest. With the fall of Śuṁbha, the main drama in *DevīM* comes to an end.

Shuffling and Analysis:

At this juncture it may be of some use to sum up the various iconographical terminologies and other *nāmāvalis*, appearing in the *DevīM* to have an idea of the perspectives of the text. Totally 162 names could be listed which alphabetically arranged run as follows: Abhedyā, Agni (devī), Aindrī, Ajitā, Aṁbikā, Amṛtakalā, Analeśvarī, Aparājitā, Āryā, Aṣṭabhuja, Babhravī, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Bhagavatī, Bhāratī, Bhīmā (Bhīmādevī), Bhūtamātā, Bhūtī, Bījagarbhā, Brahmārī, Brahmī, Brahmacāriṇī, Cakriṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, Candraghaṇṭā, Carcikā, Chatreśvarī, Citrabhanta, Cūḍāmaṇī, Ḍākiṇī, Daṁṣṭrakarālī, Daṇḍinī, Devī, Dhanurdharī, Dharmacāriṇī, Dhatrī, Dhīśvarī, Durgā, Durgāṁbikā, Dvāravāsinī, Ekavīrā, Gaurī, Ghorarūpa, Guhyeśvarī, Harī, Indrāṇī (Indra-śakti), Īśānā, Īśvarī, Jaganmātā, Jaganmūrti, Jayā, Jayantī, Jvālāmukhī, Kāladevatā, Kālarātrī, Kālī, Kālikā, Kāmadā, Kāmadhenu, Kāmākṣī, Kāmiṇī, Kapālinī, Kātyāyanī, Kaulaberī, Kaumārī, Kauśikā, Khaḍgadhāriṇī, Kṣemaṅkarī, Kṣudha, Kuṣmāṇḍā, Lajjā, Lakṣmī, Lalitādevī, Mahābalā, Mahādevī, Mahāgaurī, Mahākālā, Mahākālī, Mahākālyā, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāmārī, Mahamāyā, Mahārātrī, Mahāsarasvatī, Mahāvāṇī, Mahāvidhyā, Maheśvarī, Mahiṣavāhinī, Mālādhārī, Maṅgalā, Mahādevī, Mitaujasī, Mṛgavāhinī (Vāyuśakti), Mṛtyūdevatā, Mukuṭeśvarī, Nalakubarī, Nandajā, Nanda-śakti, Nārāyaṇī, Navadurgā, Nidrā, Nidrādevī, Nīlagrīva, Nṛsiṁhī, Padmāvatī, Pāpanāśinī, Parameśvarī, Pārvatī, Prakṛtī, Pṛthvī, Raktacāmuṇḍā, Raktadantikā, Rātridevī, Śadākṣī, Sailaputrī, Śākaṁbharī, Sandhyā, Śaṅkarī, Śaṅkhinī, Sarasvatī, Sarvā, Sarvamaṅgalā, Satī, Sāvitrī, Siddhitā, Śivā, Śivadūti, Skandamātā, Śokavināśinī, Sraddhā, Śrīdevī, Śrīdharī, Sthalavāsinī, Sugandhā, Śūladhārinī, Śūleśvarī, Svadhā, Svāhā, Tāmasi, Trinetrā, Tṛṣā, Tṛṣṇā, Udhyotinī, Umā, Ūrdhvakeśinī, Vāgīśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vajradhārinī, Vāk, Varāhī, Varuṇī, Vijayā, Vināyakī, Vindhyavāsinī, Viṣṇu-śakti, Viśveśvarī, Yamaghaṇṭā, Yaśasvinī and Yogīśvarī.

Very few of these epithets stand for iconographical types, which have been enumerated already. Many of them point out the characteristic attributes of the goddess and are of a general character. Apart from their literal connotation, they may not stand for any significant iconographical typology. For example, Mālādharī would denote any form of Śakti who wears a *mālā* 'garland', may be made of flowers (e.g. Śākaṁbharī) or of skulls and bones (e.g. Kālī).[47] Similar attributes are Dhanurdharī 'bearer of bow', Khaḍgadhāriṇī 'bearer of sword', Śaṅkhiṇī 'bearer of conch-shell', Śūladhāriṇī or Śūleśvarī[48] 'bearer of trident' and Vajradhāriṇī 'bearer of thunderbolt'. Certain of the epithets denote Devī's physical attributes such as Aṣṭabhuja 'eight handed', Jvālāmukhī 'with a burning face', Mahābalā 'of great strength', Trinetrā 'three eyed', Ṣaḍākṣī 'six (?) eyed', Ūrdhvakeśiṇī 'of erect hair' and Ghorarūpa 'terrific in form'. Cūḍāmaṇī 'wearing *cūḍāmaṇi* (an ornament on forehead)' and Mṛgavāhinī 'one with an antelope vehicle' denote other attributes. Certain of the *guṇāṁśa* aspects are pointed out by epithets like Tāmasī 'an embodiment of *tāmasa-guṇa*'. Others of the typology are Dharmacāriṇī 'custodian of righteousness', Mahāmāyā 'great illusion', Pāpanāśini 'annihilator of (devotee's) sins', and Śokavināśini 'annihilator of (devotee's) sorrows'. As Mother of *gaṇas* or custodian of cosmic elements she is called Bhūtamāta. As a resident in all cosmic atomic elements she gets the epithet Bījagarbha. As a resident of a temple or place, she is Guhyeśvarī[49] and Sthalavāsinī respectively. Dvāravāsinī is an equivalent of *dvārapālaka* 'door-keeper' but commands a cosmic perspective as keeper of cosmic order.

All necessarily need not be enumeration of either iconographical forms because of the aim of *DevīM* is something different i.e., to account for the Devī's glories. It may be in any form, an iconographical type if it should illustrate Devī visually or *nāmāvali* if it should broadcast Devī's greatness, or more fittingly the narration of mythological events if they are to popularise Devī's glory with the mass through the *êlite* who used to retell them. Through these methods, the *DevīM* projects the personality of Devī as a Cosmic Mother. Several channels of intellectual approach form basis of the text, viz., cult, philosophy and iconography. It is of special interest to note that none of Devī's popular iconographical names like Mahiṣāsuramardinī is noted. The Gaurī-*aṣṭottaram* enlists the epithets Mahiṣāsurasaṁhārī 'killer of Mahiṣāsura' and Caṇḍamuṇḍakulāntakī 'emasculator of the race of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa'. The Sarasvatī-*aṣṭottaram* notes the following epithets: Śuṁbhāsurapramathinī, Raktabījanihantrī, Muṇḍakāyapraharanā and Dhūralocana-mardanā, all referring to the destruction of the said demons. No similar epithet appears in the *DevīM*. There are two instances in which the relevant *ślokas* (*DevīM, Argalastotram*, vv. 2-5; *Navākṣarīvivecanam, dhyānam*) refer to the destruction of demons in a collective manner but their intonation is not the same as in epithets coined by the *aṣṭottarams*, noted above. It may be due to the fact that the mythologies relating to the slaughter of demons were at their formative stage when the *DevīM* was attempted as a literary piece. Later, when these narrative idioms get crystallised through cult value, epithets after events of Devī's glory came to be given a concrete shape. The time span behind the process must haye been 5th to 10th century A.D.

Saundaryalaharī:

The *Saundaryalaharī* is a text that views Devī as a cosmic Mother. There are several texts, which proclaim the preeminence of Śakti by viewing her as the cosmic symbol. They are the *Devīmāhātmyam* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Lalitāsahasranāma* of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and *Saundaryalaharī* of Ādi Śaṅkara. Of them, the *Saundaryalaharī* presents the most copious documentation of Devī's cosmic form. Though others do not lag behind in this respect, their perspective is different. For example, the *Devīmāhātmyam* is basically a text, which retells the heroic adventures of the Mother Goddess who absorbing the potencies of the multitude of gods and goddesses proceeds to the battlefield to slay the buffalo-demon, Mahiṣāsura, and his associates. The *Lalitāsahasranāma* enlists the 1,000 epithets of the Goddess and by the way also recounts her Cosmic character. The *Saundaryalaharī*[50] in its introductory part, called *Ānandalaharī* has sporadic but meaningful references to Devī's Cosmic form. The actual text dealing with *pādādikeśa* (top to toe) description in the pattern of *sāmudrikālakṣaṇa* is very deliberate at it . The thematic idioms of the Cosmic Mother being so outspoken in the text under consideration, a need arises for examining its significance and corelate the data with iconographical masterpieces. The analysis may be of help to point out channels of interaction between the evolution of philosophical dogma and its outward transformation in visual arts.

Devī is basically the feminine counterpart of Śiva and one among the *pañcamūrtis* of the southern Śaivite tradition.[51] Being the Lord's betterhalf, she is at one level subordinate to him. For example, when Śiva and his Śakti are to be presented in any iconographical form the latter uniformly occupies an inferior status.[52] At another level both occupy the *primus interpares* status, the best example being Ardhanārīśvara (*infra* for detailed examination). At the final stage of evolution Devī shakes of her connections with Śiva and gets elevated to the supreme status who is at once independent and even superior to the Male Principle. It is this ideology, which the texts cited above profess to broadcast.

The invocatory verse itself is very outspoken in declaring that the invigoration of the static cosmos is possible when Śiva-Mahādeva is united with Śakti. If not, he could not even move his own self hither and thither[53] (*AL* v.1).[54] The grace of feminine power is essential for the masculine even for a movement of the mortal coils because Śiva without Śakti is *sava*. Śakti being the vital energy, the motivating force behind all cosmic activities, *pañcakṛtyas* 'five functions', the Trimūrtis[55] are rendered impotent in the absence of Devī's grace. It is Devī who is the custodian of the *pañcakṛtyas*[56] (*AL* v.24). Consequently, a Śakta *upāsaka* 'follower' is given to understand that any offering to the Goddess automatically reaches the Trimūrtis and there is no need to worship them separately. It is to proclaim the preeminence of Devī (*AL* v.25). The Trimūrtis are merely tools of interaction and not the promethean heat that vibrates the inanimate cosmos. The resultant is that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Īśāna become the legs of Devī's cushion seat, the cushion being Sadāśiva (*SL* v.92).[57] Seated on the lap of Śiva (*AL* v.8), Devī converts the masculine Principle into a symbol of abstraction while the abstract principle itself is the Female. All are destroyed at the time of *mahāpraḷaya* 'great deluge'; Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Yama (the God of Death), Kubera, the Indras and so on; but there is no end for Devī. She being *sati* par excellence, her *pativrata*, the power of chastity,[58] gives life to Sadāśiva (*AL* v.28). Devī, is symbolic of the Sadāśiva concept (*AL* v.40). In art forms the female edition of Sadāśiva appears as Sadāśivī.[59]

The personality of Devī is both microcosmic and macrocosmic. From the core atomic particle, she expands herself and fills the entire Milky Way by her presence. All the earth category, animal category and celestial category merge in her. She is the *bindhu*, the cosmic *kuṇḍalini*. Its centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere. As the master of all cosmic craft, she could contract[60] herself into a tiny one and fuse her energies into the serpentine *kuṇḍalini; Svamātmānaṁ kṛtvā svapiṣi kulakuṇḍe kuhariṇi* (*AL* v.10). The location of *bindu* is at the centre of Śrīcakra. It is the face of Devī (*AL* v.19). The *yoni* or *bindu* is the cosmic threshold. It is the cave point.[61] In an anthropomorphic form it may either be the *nābhi* 'navel' or *yoni* 'vagina', the former allows things tò get in alone while the latter articulates the two way process of movements both inside and outside. The spot is symbolic of creative activity. "Is it here we find a whirlpool of the Gaṅgā, the location of a *homakuṇḍa* 'sacrificial pit'? a playground for Rati (the Goddess of Love), the spot where Śiva's penance came to be fulfilled?" (*SL* v.78). Being the *kuṇḍalini-śakti*, she ascends from the *mūlādhāra* to *sahasrāra* via *maṇipura, svadhiṣṭhāna, anāhata* and *viśuddhi* and pervades through the *yoga-maṇḍala*. At different levels of location, *kuṇḍalini* symbolises the different *bhūtas* 'elements (of nature)' and reflects the cosmic personality of Devī.[62]

Yoni is half of Śiva (*AL* v.19). The aniconic Liṅga, housed in the *garbhagṛha* of temples dedicated to Śiva, consists of two parts; the vertically ascending cylindrical *linga* 'phallus' and the horizontally fitted circular disc, *avuṭai* or *yoni* 'vagina'. The Male and Female principles find a harmonious union here in formless manner,[63] the counterpart of the anthropomorphic, Ardhanārīśvara, the Androgene. Ardhanārīśvara is usually counted under the iconographical forms of Śiva in *śilpa* manuals.[64] But Ādi Śaṅkhara's perspective is different. "Devī, you occupy half of Śiva and pervade through the entire system":

> *Tvayā hṛtvā vāmaṁ vapur aparitṛptena manasā*
> *śarīrārdhaṁ śaṁbhor aparam api śaṅke hṛtam abhūt* (*AL* v.23).

Here the point is that Śiva gets merged in Śakti and in the hermaphrodire, the feminine is more vital than the masculine. The implication is Śiva has no independent existence. He gets embedded in Śakti.[65] There is no need for his separate existence. His body is to be seen in Śakti's, which means the presence of Śakti in Śiva and not the *vice versa* (*AL* v.34). That means life is feminine and the skeleton masculine. Śiva may be as brilliant and luminous as the sun and moon but he is part and parcel of Devī (*AL* v.36). Śiva may be Samayaha, an equal to Samayā, the Śakti, but the latter is the vibrant force. If Śiva could perform the *ānandatāṇḍava* 'Dance of Bliss', Devī could present a *lāsya* type of the same from the *mūlādhāra* (*AL* v.41) and be Naṭeśvarī (*LSN* 734).

Devī is the cosmic reality. Her personality expands macrocosmically and cuts across the barriers of *Brahmāṇḍa* 'Milky Way' like the primordial lotus with 1000 petals. All cosmic elements, the celestials, earthly and unearthly characters become part and parcel of her many-sided personality. Thus she acquires the form of Virāṭ or Viśvarūpa.[66] Ādī Śaṅkara beautifully says,

Manas tvaṁ vyoma tvaṁ marud asi marutsārathir asi
tvam āpas tvaṁ bhūmis tvayi pariṇatāyāṁ na hi param
Tvam eva svātmānaṁ pariṇamayituṁ viśvavapuṣā
cidānandākāraṁ śivayuvati bhāvena bibhṛṣe.

Devī is the mind, the sky, the air, the fire, the water, the earth and the universe; there is no alternative to her, it is Her personality, which transforms itself into the celestial bodies on the Milky Way (*AL* v.35). She is Śrīvidhyā or Herself the *pañcadaśākṣarī-mantra* wherein all major and minor gods and goddesses converge. The entire cosmos is her outward manifestation and the things therein the fronzen particles of Devī's personality which get resurrected into human or celestial beings, (*AL* v.32). The Virāṭ is so vast that Śiva could not have a full *darṣana* of her *saundarya* 'beauty' which is beyond even the capacity of Brahmā's eloquence (*AL* v.12).

The *Saundaryalaharī* 'wave of loveliness' of Devī is difficult to comprehend and yet Ādi Śaṅkara tries to grasp it. The gems which adorn her *kirīṭamakuṭa* are represented by the twelve Ādityas (*SL* v.42). Her forehead is *ardhacandra*, the half-moon (*SL* v.46). The eyebrows are the bow of Manmatha (*SL* v.47). The *trinetra* 'three eyes' are represented by Sūrya (right), Candra (left) and Agni (*tritīyanetra*) (*SL* v.48). Her heart is occupied by Paśupati, the Lord of Creatures (*SL* v.54). The eyes are red, white and black in colour which are symbolic of the three celestial rivers, Sonabhadrā, Gaṅgā and Yamunā (*SL* v.54). The enchanting look cast by the lively eyes represent the *bāṇa* 'arrow' of Manmatha (*SL* v.58). The countenance is the chariot of Manmatha (*SL* v.59). The region in between the eyebrows (*ājñacakra*)[67] is very important since Devī's microcosmic form is here. She is *nārītilaka* (*SL* v.79), gem among women. Paśupati being at her heart she is the most compassionate *karuṇāmūrti* (*SL* v.93). She is *parabrahmamahiṣī* who manifests as Vākdevī (Sarasvatī), Haripatnī (Lakṣmī) and Harasahasarī (Śiva-Śakti). She is Mahāmāyā, the ultimate reality (*SL* v.97). She is the custodian of triple *guṇas*, viz., *sattva*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* (*Sl* v.53) and so the Trimūrtis (Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva) form part of her personality who stand for the said mental characters respectively. Her look is symbolic of the *aṣṭarasas* 'eight flavours'[68] (*SL* v.50). The winking causes destruction and recreation of the worlds; destruction when the eyes are closed and creation when opened (*SL* v.55). Her voice is more melodious than the music created by Sarasvatī's *vīṇā* (*SL* v.66). She is *saptasvaramayī* and creation emanates from her. She is empowered to destroy the destroyer and so Brahmā who lost his fifth head to Kālabhairava seeks protection in Devī (*SL* v.70). Śiva touches Devī's feet at the time of *kalyāṇa* 'wedding' under pretext of placing it on a grinding stone with a view to get himself enlightened of the secrets of cosmic wisdom and compassion.[69] Her feet represent the essence of the *Upaniṣads* (*SL* vv.84-5).[70]

To sum up, the above enumeration helps visualising the three dimensional character of Śakti: (1) As Samayaha and Samayā, Śiva and Devī are equals. It is the basis from where Devī usurps the place of the masculine Principle to establish her preeminence. (2) At the next stage, Śiva depends on Śakti for his existence. That is to say Śiva without Śakti is powerless. (3) At the final stage all dominant qualities of the Masculine Principle are absorbed by the Feminine Principle so that (i) Ardhanārī is viewed as an expression of the preeminent Śakti, (ii) Devī could either contract herself into the tiniest *bindu* or *kuṇḍalini* as a microcosmic storage of cosmic energy or express herself into a macrocosmic form by expanding her infinite personality, traversing the Milky Way as an all-encompassing Virāṭ or Viśvarūpinī. Ādi Śaṅkara's purpose is deliberate, i.e., to proclaim the prominence of Devī.

Lalitāsahasranāma:

As a result of Iḷaṅkō's and Śaṅkara's perspective of Devī, it came to be believed that Śiva is nothing but an inert mass who could function if only united with Devī. Śiva without Śakti was powerless and so the popular Tamil adage: *cakti illēṉa civaṉēṉu iru* (slang) 'if (you) have no energy (*cakti*) remain quite (*civa*)'. The historical development of the Śakti-superior concept around the 6th-8th centuries A.D. is significant because it serves to explain the art of Alampūr, Ellora and Aihole. The line of thought initiated by Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara got firmly entrenched in the Hindu cult system through metaphysical notions, expressed by way of ritual books and visual artistic creations. The pioneer in the regard was the *uttānapāda* (see chs. II & III) images of Alampūr and Aihole which continued to proliferate thematically till the later medieval period. Alongside, metaphysical ideas kept pace with the artistic output till a level of summation could be reached in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, and the Tantric ritual texts, which speak about the Śakti *yantras* and *cakras*.

It is the *bindu*, the core and minutest particle, which expands macrocosmically in concentric circles. It is the basic idea behind all *yantras* and *cakras* in Indian religious tradition. The core, *bindu* in Śaktism is personified by the Universal Mother. As the *Lalitāsahasranāma* (905)[71] would say she is *baindavāsanā*, one who resides in *bindu*, being herself that 'spot'. To a Śākta the *bindu* is the core part of the *śrīcakra* and so she is called *kularūpinī* (*LSN* 897). In the metaphor *kula* stands for the *mūlādhāracakra* in the yogic system of approach. She is the basis of cosmic activities because all source of origin is to be found in the core. *Kulam* is the place where all earth category merges. *Kula* means caste (*varṇa*) and so the core one is the founder of *varṇāśrama-dharma*. As a resident in and the master of cosmic core, the Mother called *yoninilayā* (*LSN* 895), is the custodian of cosmic activities.

In Yoninilayā the focus of attention is in between the thighs, both iconographically and in ritual orgies.[72] The *uttānapāda* temple at Tārācuram gives Devī the name Cakkarattammaṉ or Cakkarāyi. *Cakkaram* is the disc (Skt. *cakra*) and Ammaṉ or *āyi* in Tamil means Mother. H.D. Sankalia calls her *Lajjā* 'shameless'. It may be true from the elitist point of view but folk traditions, having deep roots in oral transmission of historical legacies, seem to carry more weightage. Even in Sankalia why he calls her 'shameless' is a case for debate becasue *lajjā* as well means 'modesty' (cf. meaning of Lajjā in *LSN* 740, Murthy 1975: 161). Moreover, *lajjā* stands for a state of final realization and 'blowing out' as it is a synonym for *nirvikalpa samādhi*. Devī in the form may be said to be 'modest' rather than 'shameless', which idea is confirmed by the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (quoted by Murthy 1975: 161); *Sarvabhūteṣu lajjā rūpeṇa saṁsthitā* 'she is present in all cosmic elements shyfully'. *Lajjā* here stands for 'shyness' which comes out of modesty and not 'shamelessness'.[73] Anyhow, the focus of attention being on the *yoni* aspect, it is to be more fittingly called Yoninilayā rather than Lajjā or Uttānapāda because neither the *guṇāṁśa* aspect nor the arrangement of legs is in any way important. Postures are tools of abstraction and not the abstract principle itself. It is confirmed by several other epithets attributed to Devī in the *LSN*. She is called *cakrarājarathārūḍha* (*LSN* 68) 'one mounted on the chariot of *śrīcakra*'. The pivot in a chariot should be the central point.[74] This is confirmed by another epithet (*LSN* 71), *jvālāmālinika-kṣipta-vahni-prākāra-madhyagā* 'one in the centre of the forest of fire (i.e., the *śrīcakra*)'. It is interesting to note that the personified disc of Viṣṇu, in its aspect as Cakrattāḻvār in Tamil Nadu, is encircled by a forest of fire. She is the *mūlādhāra* and so the epithet *mūlādhāraikanilayā* (*LSN* 99) who is none other than *kuṇḍalini* (*LSN* 110), the *māyāśakti*.

As *yoninilayā*, Devī resides in the first triangle of the *śrīcakra*, which is the "abode of all origins", the "cause and source of all causes". The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* (3-1-3) calls her *Brahmayoni*; the golden hued, the ruler, the Self and the Mother of creation.[75] *Yoni* means 'generating cause', 'source', 'receptacle', 'fountain' and so on. It stands for the Mother and so she is called *ayoniḥ* (*LSN* 894). *Guhyā* and *guhāṁbā* are other epithets (*LSN* 624 & 706) that point out the *yoninilayā* symbol. The *guha* is the personified cave or cavity. The *Mahānārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* (cited in Murthy 1975: 155) calls her the dweller in the cave of the heart of all creations, *antaścarati bhūteṣu guhāyām viśvamūrtiṣu*. It is now evident why the focus of attention is on the cavity point. It may be the reason why cave temples also proliferated during a particular point of time in Indian tradition when the ideas of Iḷaṅkō and Ādi Śaṅkara were gaining prominence, which perhaps had an impact over Tantric Buddhist cult whose philosophy revolves around the *oṁ maṇipadme huṁ* concept, *oṃ* where the two sexes conjoin. Devī is *Guhyārūpiṇī* 'of the form of the cave' and the *Guhyopaniṣad* (Murthy 1975: 155) is considered to be an embodiment of Devī herself. The *guha* is *yoni*-Devī and Guhyeśvarī, and her spouse Guhyeśvara. Both coexist in the form of *liṅga* and *yoni*.[76] It is the reason why in temple architecture the cave symbol is brought out in respect of *dvāras, gopuras, mukhabhadrakūḍu* motifs and so on. Images of Naṭarāja[77] appearing within the *kūḍu* part of the *mukhabhadra* projection of the *rekhanāgara-vimānas* have their own implications. The circle is the *yoni* and the deity therein what we may call Naṭeśvarī 'queen of dancers' (*LSN* 734). It is interesting to note that the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-aṣṭottram*, attributed to Ādi Śaṅkara, says that the Mother dances when about to create the Universe (Murthy 1975: 160). According to the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* Kālī dances violently at the time of destruction whose strokes even Bhūdevī could not bear (*supra*).

One may ask why an object of adoration should be aniconic or abstract? taking into due account the several other anthropomorphic or therianthropic forms. In the mystic's way of approach either could be the case, depending upon his needs, because the Devī is basically *nirākāra* 'formless' (*LSN* 137) or *nirguṇa* 'attributeless' (*LSN* 139). Moreover such abstract symbols (e.g. the *svastika*) are supposed to be auspicious, i.e. *sarvamaṅgalā* (*LSN* 200) "she being the source of all good". Thus, *uttānapāda* had its origin as a pure abstraction, later developments being conditioned by the growth of Tantric ideology. The Yoninilayā concept is very outspoken in pointing out the influence of the *pañcamakāras*. Tantricists believed that by consuming meat and fish, drinking spurious liquor, dancing and ritual sexual intercourse, the presence of Devī could be felt (*infra*). The Yoginī temple in Khajurāho and the erotic motifs in Central Indian and Eastern Indian temples support the view that these should have been strong centres of the esoteric origies in bygone ages. Several of Devī's epithets confirm this. Śivakāmeśvarī (*LSN* 52),[78] Kāmākṣī (*LSN* 62),[79] Kāmadāyinī, Kāmakalārūpa (*LSN* 322), *mattā* 'intoxicated' (*LSN* 576), *mādvīpānalasā* 'intoxicated with wine' (*LSN* 575) and *vāruṇīmadavivhalā* 'one drunk with the wine of dates' (*LSN* 333) are few of the names, which attest the Tantric orientation. Several of the epithets in the *LSN* (90-95) acclaim her as Goddess of the *kaulamārga* for *vāmācāra* 'left-hand practice' who follow the *pañca-makāras*. She is the *kulayoginī* (*LSN* 95).

Though the Mother is symbolised by the 'spot' (*bindu*) whose centre is everywhere, it actually has a location of its own at the peak of Meru, the *axis mundi*. She is the *Merunilayā* (*LSN* 775), her abode being on the middle peak of the World mountain, *sumerūśṛṅgamadhyasthā* (*LSN* 55). At the higher level, she could show the cosmic form with a thousand heads (*sahasraśīrṣvadanā LSN* 282), thousand eyes (*sahasrākṣi LSN* 283) and thousand feet (*sahasrapāda LSN* 284). Her residence is amidst a great lotus forest, *mahā-padmāṭavī-saṁsthā* (*LSN* 59), and it may explain the artistic, motif, illustrating a forest of lotuses below the *padmapīṭha* of Gajalakṣmī, seated in *padmāsana*, at the main entrance to the Kailāsa (cave XVI) of Ellora and its subsidiary shrine, the Laṅkeśvara.[80]

As the universal Mother she is *viśvatomukhī* (*LSN* 780) who faces the Cosmos, being its creatrix and endowed with faces in all directions. Here, she becomes Sadāśivī or Mahāsadāśivī so that the *Svetāśvataropaniṣad* (3-3) could proclaim *viśvatas caksuruta viśvatomukhaḥ* (Murthy 1975: 166). Her feet are arched like the back of a tortoise, *Kūrma-*

pṛṣṭha-jayiṣṇu-pra-padānvitā (*LSN* 43), and the ankles hidden, *guḍhagulphā* (*LSN* 42). The legs are like quivers of Cupid, studded with gems, *Indra-gopapari-kṣipta-smara tūṇā-bhajaṅghikā* (*LSN* 41), and the knees decorated like crowns with precious gems, *māṇikya-mukuṭākāra-jānu-dvaya-virājitā* (*LSN* 40). Only Kāmeśa (Śiva) knows how glorious and soft of her thighs are: *Kāmeśa-jñata-saubhāgya-mārdavoru-dvayānvitā* (*LSN* 39). She creates and destroys and could even resurrect Kāma, the god of love, turned into a heap of dust by the third eye of Śiva, *Hara-netrāgni-saṁdagdha-kākanaṁjīvanauṣadhiḥ* (*LSN* 84). She definitely is the Cosmic Mother who rules from the microcosmic and macrocosmic disc, *śrīcakrarājanilayā* (*LSN* 996). Even if all modes of propitiation are not observed by an *upāsaka* 'devotee', he may just worship the *bindu*, the Ultimate, and enjoy all kinds of blessings; *Bindutarpaṇasaṁtuṣṭe*, offer the seeds (*LSN* 974) you get all (*bindu* = semen ?). Now we see why so much care has been taken to adore the *yoni* from time immemorial. She is the cosmic Mother, the *yajñarūpā* (*LSN* 769), and one who offers *bindu* need not have to undertake any other *vrata* or perform *yajña* and follow any kind of *sādhana* to reach the Ultimate and yet be assured of all auspiciousness.

Mattavilāsaprahasana:

The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* 'Farce of the Sport of the Intoxicated one', attributed to the authorship of Mahēndravarmaṉ I Pallava, is a masterpiece, which presents a peep into the foibles, strife, animosity and bickerings of religious groups of the early medieval period. It is full of wit and wisdom and presents an enjoyable reading even through a translated script.[81] The important characters in the burlesque are a *kāpālika* called Satyasoma, his wench Devasoma, a Buddhist friar Nāgasena and a Pāśupata Babhrukalpa.[82] The *kāpālika* and his maiden are heavily drunk and miss their begging bowl, the *kapāla* (half skull), a precious emblem. In their search for the *kapāla*, they suspect a Buddhist monk and drag him into a quarrel who carries nonvegetarian food as hidden under the surplice of his apparel. A Pāśupata joins the dispute, ridicules both, helps to trace the *kapāla* and recovers it from a madman who had snatched it from a dog. The text, being a contemporary work, is of great value to have an estimate of the general religious disharmony and the Śaiva-Śākta traditions.

The fact that the *kāpālikas* were a wandering group of mendicants is attested by the work. Satyasoma is always in the company of Devasoma but neither of them perpetually united as they may change partnership quite often. It is evident when Devasoma quarrels with him for wrongly spelling her name as Somadeva (Barnett p. 703). All through the play, both appear together like Śiva and Śakti. All the time they are drunk and frequently consume liquor to 'rejuvenate' themselves. A summary review of the text gives the impression that the *kāpālikas* assiduously followed the *pañca-makāras*. They believe that it is the "Lord of the Trident who found that road to salvation" (Barnett p. 703). Quaffing and drinking is "irreproachably sweet" as Devasoma, the *kapāli*, puts it. The drunken state of mind is akin to the experience of reciting the holy scriptures and conducting a *yāga*. The *kāpālika* says, "(the) brandy-shop resembles the splendour of a sacrificial-yard; for in it the signpost is the sacrificial pole, the brandy is the Soma, the tipplers are the priests, the cups are the *soma*-bowls, the roasted meats and the rest of the appetisers are the various fire-offerings, the tipplers' talk is the *Yajūr-veda*, their songs are the *Sāma-veda*, the drinking bowls are the oblation-ladles, thirst is the fire, and the keeper of the brandy shop is the master of the sacrifice (*yajamāna*)" (Barnett pp. 704-5). Drinking was a vow to the *kāpālika* and so they found no scruples to worry about it or what the society may think about them. It is because the Buddhist friar and Pāśupata, other two characters of the play, mock at him silently for their indulgence. Meat and fish being ingredients to quench the appetite created by consumption of ale, the other two *makāras* automatically enter into the picture. The *kāpālika* himself reveals the fact that he had roast meat in his lost *kapāla*. The Buddhist friar carries his bowl, containing fish and meat, that was offered as alms by a wealthy merchant. A girl friend is an inseparable companion of the *kapālika*. Satyasoma says, "The delight of Woman's love is food for flesh" (Barnett p. 704). Furthermore, he admires Kāmadeva and thinks that their "delights" do "good to the world" (Barnett pp. 704, 705). These give clue to the following four of the *makāras* (viz., *māmsa, matsya, madya* and *maithuna*). The left out one is *mudrā* which the *kāpālī* and *kapālika* perform when they discover meat and fish in the Buddhist monk's bowl. Again, he admires also the tipplers' merry dances while taking liquor. All these point out the fact that the *kapālikas* around the 7th century A.D. had very well-cultivated the *pañca-makāra* concept and that they considered it holy.

It seems that the society had no good opinion about the *kāpālikas*. L.D. Barnett who has translated the play adds here and there that the *kāpālika* belongs to a low order of Śaiva ascetics. Nāgasena calls Satyasoma a "rascal living in Ekambam".[83] It seems the *brāhmaṇas* followed the order. Satyasoma is understood to be a *brāhmaṇa* (Barnett p. 710). The *kapālika's* property is a *kapāla*. If it is lost, he cannot be a *mahāvratin*. That is why Satyasoma laments very much for having lost his *kapāla* and says that he ceases to be a *kāpālika* till the moment he recovers the totem. It is very interesting to note that others do not hold the *kapāla* in high esteem. Because Satyasoma's *kapāla* is stolen by a dog and recovered by a madman. Allegorically, the *kapālikas* are supposed to be equals of dogs and madmen. The madman himself says, "I got (the *kapāla*) from the most respectable dog belonging to a *caṇḍāla*" (Barnett p. 715). He ridicules the *kapāla* by placing it on ground and circummambulating thrice. All these prove that the *kāpālikas* were fanatically firm believers in their order but least repected by the society. It may be due to their gruesome practices like eating the food in a skull and behaving lecherously.

Another dimension of the work is the testimony that it bears to point out the general religious disharmony and the vulgarisation of the Buddhist order. The *kāpālika* calls the Buddhist friar a "heretic", "rascal" and "scamp". According to Satyasoma, "those sinners ought not to be mentioned even by way of reproof who torture living beings with celibacy, plucking out hair, keeping the body filthy, fixing times for meals, wearing dirty rags ..." (Barnett p. 704). Nāgasena is an example of the degraded Buddhist order of monks. He likes fish and meat and finds pleasure in touching the wench of Satyasoma. Afraid of the society he walks in "timid steps, limbs hunched up and glance cast to right and left" as he moves carrying a bowl full of nonvegetarian food with the saliva oozing from mouth. The story also indirectly suggests that given a chance a Buddhist monk may not even hesitate to eat meat from a *kapāla* and find solace in a *kapālinī's* embrace.

The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* is good source book for cult studies. Though it has no bearing on iconography, the data supplied is of use to evaluate the character and way of life led by the Tantric sects. From the Śākta point of view, it is understood that the lady-*kāpāli* was in no way a better person than her male counterpart.

Epigraphical Notes:

An interesting inscription of Karka II Rāṣṭrakūṭa, dated in Śaka 734 (A.D. 812-13) has a beautiful comparison of Śrī with the Kailāsa at Ellora. "Having his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Elāpuram (m. Ellora), the astonished immortals who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought saying 'This is the abode of Svayaṁbhū (Śiva) and no artificially made (dwelling): Śrī (if she could be) seen (would be) such as this' ...." (*IA* XII: 163). It seems the poet considers the Kailāsa itself as an architectural expression of the Goddess Śrīdevī. The statement may be of some relevance when we take the Kailāsa into consideration in relation to Gajalakṣmī images, found at the frontal plinth section of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* and the narrow passage which leads to the Laṅkeśvara. Another lithic record from Kundarkot in the Northwest Province (6th century A.D.) speaks of the triumphant handsome figure of Durgā with shining broad hips, accompanied by her lion vehicle and Kārttikeya (*EI* I: 182). In another epigraph, dated in Vikrama Samvat 703, Durgā is called Āraṇyavāsinī, which also invokes Caṇḍikā (*EI* XX: 97-99). Another inscription, dated in Vikrama 547 (A.D. 491), from Chhoti-Sadri speaks of the victorious Goddess, Mahiṣāsuramardinī (?), who bears a sharp spear and tears asunder the demons. She is seated on a chariot, attached to a fierce lion. The Goddess is one who assumes the half of the moon-crested Hara (*EI* XXX: 126). The Deogarh rock inscription, dated in the 6th century A.D., notes the Mātṛka group as follows: Vīrabhadra, Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Gaṇapati. An inscription from Varānāśi, dated in the early 8th century A.D., has a reference to possibly Bhairava who was emaciated and emancipated at the *sthala* and that a devotee established an image of Bhavāṇī who was fierce-looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of human heads, limbs encircled by snakes, dry flesh fixed on the axe and delighting in wild ecstatic dance with rolling eyes (*EI* IX: 61-2). The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam inscription, dated in Kali 3874 (A.D. 773-74), speaks of the dedication of the cave to

Durgādevī, which was originally in favour of Śiva (37 of 1908, *IA* II: 67). Epigraphs also have something to say about the personality of Devī *vis-à-vis* Śiva. The Chandrene inscription of Prabhodhaśiva, dated in Kālachūri era 724 (A.D. 973), notes *tāṇḍava*-Śiva who is the Lord of Caṇḍī (his rival) (*EI* XXI: 151). The following inscriptions have invocations to Sarasvatī: Bheraghāṭ of Alhanadevī (Chedi 907) (*EI* II: 14), Govindapūr of poet Gaṅgādhara (Saka 1059) (*EI* II: 333) and another of Govinda V (Saka 855) (*IA* XII: 252). The Nāgpūr stone inscription, dated in Vikrama 1161 (*EI* II: 182, 189) and Goharva Plates of Karṇadeva (A.D. 1047) (*EI* XI: 140) invoke Bhāratī and Brahmī respectively, which are epithets of Sarasvatī as appearing in the *Sarasvatyaṣṭottaram*. They are Bhāratyai-*namaḥ* and *Brāhmyainamaḥ* (nos. 4-5). The Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya, dated in Gupta era 407 (A.D. 725), invokes Vāṅmayī (Vākdevī) to earn the blessings of word power and wordly wisdom (*EI* XII: 13). The Indragad (Mandasaur district, Madhya Pradesh) of Nannappa, dated in Vikrama 767 (A.D. 710-11), records the dedication of a temple to Guhyeśvara by a Pāśupata ascetic (*EI* XXXII: 113). The name is noted in the Ellora Plates also. It is interesting to note Guhyeśvara in the inscription, the masculine counterpart of Guhyeśvarī, who fails to appear in epigraphical records. A Western Cāḷukya grant of Nāgavardhana, son of the brother of Pulakeśi II, has an invocation to Hārītī and the Mātṛkas as follows: "Cāḷukyas ... who are descendants of Hārītī who are nourished by seven Mothers who are the mothers of mankind, and who have an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity acquired by the protection of Kārttikeya ..." (*IA* IX: 125). Similar invocations appear in the Nerūr Plates of Vijayāditya of the Western Cāḷukya family. It is dated in Saka 622 (A.D. 700-1) (*IA* IX: 128). Eastern Cāḷukyan records have invocations to Hārītī and the Mātṛkas (*IA* XIII: 93n, XIII: 52-56).

Epigraphs have rare allusions to the united form of Devī and Śiva. The Nilgund inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I, dated in A.D. 866, has an invocation to the Trimūrtis (Svayaṁbhū-Brahman, Murāri and Hara) and says that Śiva is "imprisoned by the (embrace of) the daughter of the mountain (Umā) ..." (*EI* VI: 105). The statement is of particular interest if viewed against the Ardhanārī concept of Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara. The Paṭṭadakkal pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman II has an interesting reference to the united form of Śiva and Śakti who appear as Āliṅganamūrti, the type of iconographs very common there. The text reads: "Oṁ! Oṁ! Reverence to Śiva! Victorious, victorious be that union of Hara and Gaurī, in which the face and breasts are passionately kissed by the left arm (of the god), in which the fingers (of the god) separate themselves among the curled tresses (of the goddess) ..." (*EI* III: 6).

CONSOLIDATION

As a text bearing on iconography and mythology, the *Devīmāhātmyam* is singularly unique. The perspective that we get through the *Lalitāsahasrānama* is broad and the text seems to incorporate later medieval concepts. As a corroborative source, it is of immense value. Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara stand at the two extremities of the early medieval period and help to trace the roots and developments of the Tantric tradition. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* is a good source book to study the bickerings of the Hindu sects and those of the heterodoxical lineage. When all sources of information are consolidated, we get an excellent peep into the religious mysticism and developments of iconography relating to the Śākta school.

In this respect it may be of some use to find out what level of maturity Śakti iconography attains by the end of the later medieval period as recorded in a text like the *Śrītattvanidhi*. The encyclopaedic work in its first section on Śakti-*nidhi* enlists 140 forms of Devī. They are as follows (listed according to the serial order of the text): Cāmuṇḍeśvarī, Rājarājeśvarī, Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāsarasvatī, Aṇimādi-siddha-devatā, Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, Daśamudradevatā, Guptayoginī, Guptadharayoginī, Saṁpradā-yoginī, Kulordhīrṇa-yoginī, Nigarbha-yoginī, Rahasya-yoginī, Atirahasya-yogini, Nityaklinnā, Kāmeśī, Bhagamālinī, Bherunḍā, Vanhivāsinī, Vajreśvarī, Śivadūtī, Dvaritā, Kulasundarī, Nityā, Nīlapatākā, Vijayā, Sarvamaṅgalā, Jvālāmālinī, Mi(ci)trā, Tripurasundarī, Ṣaṭaṅgadevī, Yoganidrādevī, Ṣoḍaśabhuja-Bharakālī, Śākinī, Kākinī, Lākinī, Rākinī, Ḍākinī, Hākinī, Yākinī, (among) Sapta Mātṛkas: (Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā or Caṇḍikā), (among) Navadurgās: (Śailaputra-durgā, Brahmacāriṇī-durgā, Caṇḍakaṇḍa-durgā, Skanda-durgā, Kuśmāṇḍa-durga, Kātyāyanī-durgā), Skandayamalokta-navadurgā, Ṣoḍasabhuja-durgā, Rudrāṁśa-durgā, Aṣṭabhuja-kālī, Vana-durgā, Pratyaṅgirā, Śūlinī, Dhūmrāvatī, Vaśyamukhī, Ugratāra, Kurukullā, Vāruṇī, Aparājitā, Śatruvidhvaṁsinī, Svastnaveśinī, Daṇḍinī-vārāhī, Svapna-vārāhī, Suddha-vārāhī, Ladhuśyāmalā, Rājamātaṅgī, Bālā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Mṛtasaṁjīvinī, Bagalādevī, Vanaśaṅkarī, Śākaṁbharī, Surādevī, Catuṣṣaṣṭikalādevī, Sarvavarṇeśvarī, Dvādaśardhadevī, Tiraśkariṇī, Aśvārūḍā, Indrākṣīdevī, Tulajābhavāṇī, Candrā-parameśvarī, Tulasīdevī, Gāyatrīdevī, Sāvitrīdevī, Sarasvatī, *Dvibhuja*-Annapūrṇā, *Caturbhuja*-Annapūrṇa, Agni-durgā, Śītalādevī, Lopamudrādevī, Dvibhuja-lakṣmī, Gajalakṣmī, Mahālakṣmī, Śrīdevī, Vīralakṣmī, *Dvibhuja*-Vīralakṣmī, *Aṣṭabhuja*-Vīralakṣmī, Prasanna-lakṣmī, Viṣṇuparivāra-śaktis, Saubhāgya-Bhuvaneśvarī, Māyā-Bhuvaneśvarī, Vajrapṛśtāriṇī, Trikaṇṭhakīdevī, Mohinīnityādevī, Jaya-durgā, Vindhyavāsinī-durgā, Ripumārī-durga, Tripura-bhairavī, Saṁvitatripurā, Bālātripurasundarī, Nityādevī, Tvaritādevī, Kālarātrī, Vagīśvarī, Dhenu-vāgīśvarī, Saubhāgya-vagīśvarī, Padma-lakṣmī, Catusṣaṣṭi (64) Yoginīs, Śarīraṣaṭcakra-devatā, Ga-kāradevatā-Vāṇī, Gha-kāradevatā-Śāṛṅgadhārī, Ḍha-kāradevatā-Sapta Mātṛkas and Ṣa-kāradevatā-Lakṣmī. Apart from these 140 forms, 99 *akṣara-devatas* are described. They are of the type of three Devīs listed in the above enumeration. Totally there are 239 goddesses according to the *Śrītattvanidhi*.[84]

Though 239 individual forms are listed the variables could be condensed because there are several sub-variables of a common typology. For example, the *akṣara-devatas* are

103. Again, we come across 3 of Cāmuṇḍā, 3 of Kālī, 10 of Lakṣmī (including Śrīdevī), 2 of Sarasvatī, 4 of Mātṛkas (*aṣṭa, sapta* and two individual forms), 7 of Yoginīs (excluding the 64 group), 2 of Nityaklinnā, 4 of Tripurā, 17 of Durgā, 3 of Vārāhī (excluding those under the Mātṛkas), 3 of Bhuvaneśvarī and 2 of Annapūrṇa. If the sub-variables are frozen into single entities under each head the total number of variables listed by the text is 113. The basic typologies are 113, which shows the high watermark in the development of Śākti iconography towards the end of the medieval period. The figure may help to specify the quota of the early medieval period from the statistical point of view.

When compared with the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the picture presented by the *Devīmāhātmyam* and *Lalitāsahasranāma* is very striking. The *DevīM* alone lists not less than 162 variables of which 24 definitely deal at length with iconographical forms of Devī, others being of the *nāmāvali* type. The *Cilappatikāram* gives a list of not less than 20 of which Pattiṉitēvi is the most outstanding. The temple for Vajra tempts one to think of the Vajreśvarī of *Śrītattvanidhi* and Vanacārinī with Āranyavasinī, noted in an epigraph. The Tamil Pattiṉi, Piṭāri, Campapāti, Amari, Kumari, Kavuri, Camari and Nīli have no parallels in the Sanskritic tradition. The perspective of *Saundaryalaharī* is something different. Though the text hints at Viśvarūpinī, described at length in the *DevīM*, Ardhanārī and Yoninilayā, the Śiva-Śakti interaction is more pronounced than the description of iconographical forms. The text is of much value to demarcate the levels of the Śakti Superior concept in Hindu tradition. The *mattavilāsa* on similar lines helps to study the religious bickerings though Kapālī and Vāruṇī are noted, especially the latter one strikingly compares with one of the same noted in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

REFERENCES

1. For a detailed examination of the temples under note see R.K.K. Rajarajan, *Rock-cut Model Shrines in Early Indian Art*, pp. 11-26.
2. In an ancient Tamil work, called *Naṟṟiṇai* (No. 216), a rare reference to the dignitary who cut one of her breasts appears. The passage reads as follows: *Orumulai aṟutta tirumāvuṉṉi, mulai* means 'breast'. We cannot be sure whether the reference is to Kaṇṇaki but it may point out the fact that an oral version relating to a 'one-breasted' Goddess, perhaps of the Ardhanārī type, was familiar with the Tamil society ever since the beginning of the Christian era to which date the literature under consideration is assigned. See Raju Kalidos, Taṭātakai, the three-breasted Goddess, *Artibus Asiae* (in press).
3. *Kaṟppukkaṭam pūṇṭa itteyavamallatu*
   Poṟpuṭaitteyvam yām kaṇṭilam (*Aṭaikkalakkātai* 11. 143-44).
4. For a recent study see Shivaji K. Pannikar, *Sapta Matrka Worship and Sculptures*, New Delhi 1996.
5. The commentators on *Cilappatikāram* uniformly consider *kalai* as an 'antelope'. In Indian śilpaic and artistic traditions neither Durgā nor Mahiṣāsuramardinī is associated with an

antelope. Tamil scholars are of opinion that *kalai* basically is a common term that may stand for a male animal, may be the antelope or even lion. We cannot be sure whether the antelope was really meant by Iḷaṅkō as the vehicle of Koṟṟavai. In this context it is interesting to find that an image of Durgā appearing in the left back wall of the *Varāha-maṇḍapa* at Māmallapuram is associated with animals which appear at the top of the relief. The lion is to the right and an antelope to the left. It may suggest that the antelope was associated with Koṟṟavai in antique usages and later, maybe around the 8th century A.D., the lion replaced it. Perhaps the *Varāha-maṇḍapa* illustration is an eye-witness to the process of replacement.

6. The source of the name is explained in the following *śloka:*

   Tatraiva ca vadhiṣyāmi Durgamākhyaṁ mahāsuram
   Durgādevīti vikhyātaṁ tarne nāma bhaviṣyati (adhyāya 11, v. 49-50).

   The core idea behind the passage is that the Devī will have to be called Durgādevī for killing (in future) a demon called Durgama.

7. The *śloka* in which the epithet appears (*adhyāya* 11, v. 33) gives a definitive form to the cosmic shape of the Goddess who is called 'the World Mistress', the sustainer of the worlds, the cosmos-shaped one, the bearer of the worlds, the Mistress of the worlds ...' The relevant passage runs as follows:

   Viśveśarī dvaṁ paripāsi viśvāṁ viśvātmikā dhārayasīti viśvam
   Viśveśa vandhyā bhavatī bhavanti viśvāśrayā yotvayi bhaktinamrā.

8. She is to be called Bhīmādevī for exterminating *rākṣasas* in the Himālayas and offer protection to *ṛṣis*.
9. She is to be called Aruṇā for killing a demon called, Aruṇa, in the form of bees, having six legs.
10. *Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma* (abbreviated into *LSN*), tr. C. Suryanarayana Murthy, Bombay 1975, p. 67. Numerals given within parantheses are those of the number of the epithets as listed in the concerned text. The *LSN* is part and parcel of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.
11. Lajjā means both 'shameless' and 'modesty'. The translator of *LSN* (no. 740, see text p. 161) takes the epithet in the latter sense and cites a passage from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* towards this end. But many of the scholars like H.D. Sankalia (1960: 111-23) treat images of Lajjā-Gaurī as a "shameless woman". See also Kramrisch, 1956: 259-70. I do not find any need to treat any form of Śakti to represent shamelessness because in Indian tradition she is the Mother.
12. Other interesting names of the goddess as appearing in *LSN* may be summed up here for comparative analysis: Ajā (866), Aṣṭamūrti (662 - these consists of Lakṣmi, Medha, Dharā, Puṣṭī, Gaurī, Tuṣṭī, Prabhā and Dhṛti), Bālā (74), Bandinī (511), Bhadrā (115, 116), Bhagamālinī (277), Bhavanāśinī (175), Bhavāṇī (101), Bhuvaneśvarī (294), Brahmarūpā (265), Caturbāhu (488), Durlabhā (188), Gāyatrī (420), Gomātā (605), Govindarūpiṇī (267), Hakinī (527), Hrīṁkārī (301), Kākinī (513), Kālakaṇṭhī (464), Kiṅkiṇī (38), Kuleśvarī (439), Kuṇḍalinī (110), Kurukullā (438), Lākinī (503), Mahārājinī (2), Mahāśaktiḥ (109, 217), Mahāsiddhiḥ (224), Mahāvīryā (221), Maheśī (932), Maheśvarī (208), Mānasā (28), Mantriṇī (69), Mantriṇyambā (75), Manonmaṇī (207), Mohinī (562), Nirādhārā (132), Nirmadā (158), Nityā (73), Padmanābha-sahodarī (280), Pañcapretāsanāsīnā (249),

Parameśvarī (396), Pracaṇḍā (827), Rākiṇī (494), Rudrarūpā (269), Sadāśivā (272), Sādhvī (128), Sākinī (520), Śaṁbhavī (122), Saṁhāriṇī (268), Saṁpatkarī (66), Sandhyā (422), Śāntā (141), Śāntimātā (131), Śāradārādhyā, (123), Śarvāṇī (124), Sarveśvarī (202), Śātodarī (130), Sāvitrī (699), Siddheśvarī (471), Siṁhāsaneśvarī (3), Śrīkarī (127), Tripurasundarī (234, 997), Vāmadevī (469), Varadā (518), Vīra (899), Viśālākṣī (936), Yogeśvarī (225), Yoginī (64, 237, 653), Yoninilayā (895) and so on.

13. Both these *purāṇas* are known to have existed by about the 10th century A.D. as noted in the travelogue of Alberuni. Scholars place both the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Mārkaṇḍeya- purāṇas* in the 4th-6th centuries A.D. The *DevīM* and *LSN* are likely to be interpolations of the 10th century A.D. into the respective texts (Kane 1930: V, II, 831, 895-6, 902-3).
14. We may note here the following names of the Yoginīs who strikingly compare with the epithets appearing in the *DevīM* and *LSN*: Ajitā, Aṁbikā, Bhadrakālī, Bhairavī, Bhīmā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Brāhmaṇī, Brahmārī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, Durgā, Gaurī, Ghorarūpa, Hūṅkārī, Indrāṇī, Īśvarī, Jayā, Jvālāmukhī, Kālī, Kālikā, Kālarātrī, Kātyāyanī, Kaumārī, Kauśikā, Kuṇḍalinī, Kuṣmāṇḍī, Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Maheśvarī, Medhā, Narasiṁhī, Nārāyaṇī, Raudrī, Śaṅkarī, Sarvajñā, Sarvamaṅgalā, Śivā, Śivadūtī, Svadhā, Svāhā, Tripurā, Tripuramohinī, Umā, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Vijayā, Viṇāyakī, Viṣālākṣī, Yoginī and so on (Dehejia 1986: 194-218).
15. See the commentary on *DevīM*, p. 23.
16. *DevīM*, ch. 11, vv. 49-50. See above fn. 5.
    For a similar interpretation see Kalidos (1989), Coburn (1984) and Shulman (1980).
17. For details see Kalidos 1989.
18. See Rao 1971: I, II, 105-7.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-7.
20. It is an elusive reference as there are twenty-eight *Śaivāgamas* of which the same text quotes the *Kāraṇāgama*, one among the twenty-eight, in connection with another form of Durgā (*infra*).
21. For details cited in the texts, especially from Rao's book see the annexure and the descriptions in the concerned book. Forms elaborated in *Śrītattvanidhi* are discussed by me (1988) in another paper.
22. Caṇḍakahaṇḍa is said to be present on the *garuḍa* 'eagle' vehicle in angry mood. The Navadurgās of *Skandhayāmala*, including the four Caṇḍas, are sixteen handed whose colours are as follows: Caṇḍa - black like the collyrium, Caṇḍī - white, Anucaṇḍā - yellow and Ugracaṇḍā - green. All have fat and fleshy breasts, hands and thighs. They are in *ālīḍha* attitude and wear all kinds of ornaments (*Śrītattvanidhi* I: 60).
23. The subtle variations between Durgā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī have been pointed out in another paper to emphasise that both are different (Kalidos 1989). In similar veins Phyllis Granoff (1979: 139-51) has made an effort to disentaggle the Goddess who slays Mahiṣāsura from the Goddess who slays demons like Śuṁbha-Niśuṁbha.
24. That will not mean that all the weapons are to be associated with all the goddesses. Each and every one has her own specific emblem, for example *śaṅkha-cakra* for Vaiṣṇavī, *śakti* for Kaumārī, *triśūla* for Maheśvarī and so on. For a specific allocation of weapons see below.
25. They are Viśveśvarī, Pṛthvī, Viṣṇu-śakti, Nārāyaṇī, Śivadūti, Lakṣmī, Lajjā, Mahāvidyā,

Sraddhā, Svadhā, Mahārātrī, Mahākmāyā, Medhādevī, Sarasvatī, Bhūtī, Babravī, Tāmasi, Durgādevī, Kātyāyani, Bhadrakālī, Caṇḍikā, Bhīmādevī and Aruṇā (*DevīM*, *Adhyāya* 11, 1-53 *passim*).

26. Cock as an attribute of Kumāra appears usually in his *dhvaja* 'flag'. The Subrahmaṇaya-*aṣṭottaram* uses the epithet *kukuṭadhvajāyānamaḥ* '(invocation to) the Lord with cock flag'. The cock is also supposed to be the Lord's vehicle, besides the peacock.

27. The male counterparts of the standard Sapta Mātṛkas are *Varāha*, Indra, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara (Śiva), Kumāra (or Skanda-Subrahmaṇya) and Brahmā. In respect of cult lineage, these could be brought under six heads, viz., Śaiva (Maheśvara), Vaiṣṇava (Varāhī & Vaiṣṇavī), Brahmā (Brāhmaṇī), Skanda (Kaumārī), Śakti (Cāmuṇḍā) and *dikpālakas* (Aindrī). I am of the opinion that Cāmuṇḍā has a specification from the Śākta point of view and that it is originally a Śakti form, having no Śaiva parallel. Her Tamil equivalent seems to be Piṭāri, a folk goddess.

28. In this respect the list of Yoginīs, earlier noted in another context (*supra*), deserves a close observation. Many of them represent male deities of cult lineage as follows: Śaiva (Raudrī - Rudra, Maheśvarī - Maheśvara, Śaṅkarī - Śaṅkara, Kālī-Kāla, Śivā-Śiva, Mahākālī - Mahākāla, Bhairavī - Bhairava, Yoginī - Yogīśvara, Triśūli - Triśūla, Paramā - Parameśvara, Mahādevī - Mahādeva, Kapālinī - Kapāli, Īśvarī - Īśvara, Īśānī - Īśāna, Mātaṅgī - Mātaṅgeśvara, Nandinī - Nandi, Laṅkeśvarī - Laṅkeśvara, Vīrabhadrā - Vīrabhdra, Virūpākṣī - Virūpākṣa, Śarabhānanā - Śarabheśa, Aṣṭavaktra - Sadāśiva (?); Vaiṣṇava (Vaiṣṇavī - Viṣṇu, Varāhī - Varāha, Nṛsiṁhī - Nṛsiṁha, Kṛṣṇā - Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇī - Nārāyaṇa, Garuḍī - *Garuḍa*, Mādhavī-Mādhava, Vāmaṇī - Vāmaṇa, Siṁhamukhī- Nṛsiṁha, Hayagrīvā- Hayagrīva and Vānarānana - Hanumat); Brahmā (Brāhmaṇī, Brahmāyaṇī, Hamsinī); *dikpālakas* (Indrāṇī, Indrāyaṇī, Aindrī or Indrajālī - Indra, Vāruṇī - Varuṇa, Āgneyi - Agni, Yamyā - Yama, Nirṛttī - Nirṛtti and Vāyavyā - Vāyu); Gaṇapatya (Gajānanī, Viṇāyakī or Vaiṇāyakī and Gaṇeśvarī) and miscellaneous minor gods (e.g. Sukhī - *Sukhabrahmarṣi*).

29. If ardent devotees of Śiva would not consider Śakti as a potent force within a macro-Śaiva religion (consisting of the *pañcamūrtis*, viz., Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇapati, Kumāra and Caṇḍikésvara), the Śāktas would not allow Śiva to predominate within a fold and so bifurcate from the household establishment. The idea is to be viewed in the context of the mythology relating to the sage, Bhṛṅgi, who refused to take Śakti into account when both Śiva and Pārvatī were seated together and then again tried to pay homage to Śiva alone by penetrating into the unified Ardhanārī form.

30. It is very strange to find Vīrabhadra feminised because according to the original mythology of his creation from a hair plucked out of Śiva's body was provided with a feminine counterpart, Kālī. It was on the occasion of the destruction of Dakṣa and his *yāgaśālā* 'sacrificial apartment'.

31. Sukhī according to the *Skanda Purāṇa* has a parrot head (Dehejia 1986: 215).

32. See for example Sastri (1916: 190-6), Rao (1971: I, II, 379-89), Gupte (1972: 56-7), Upadhyaya (1978: 52-68), Bhattacharya (1974: 24-5), Bhattacharya (1978: 42) and Sahai (1978: 197-205). These scholars have cited original references, which deal with either the principal Mātṛkas or atleast few of them. Among the purāṇic texts the following have bearing on the subject: *Viṣṇudharmottara-*, *Varāha-*, *Devībhāgavata-*, *Liṅga-*, *Skanda-*, *Devī-*,

Brahmavaivarta-, *Agni-* and *Matsya-*. The *śilpa* texts are *Śrītattvanidhi*, *Śilparatna*, *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Mānasāra*, *Kāśyapīya*, *Viśvakarmīya*, *Mayamata* and *Śilpasaṅgraha*. The āgamic works are *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, *Suprabhedāgama* and *Jayākhyasaṁhita*. Other liturgical texts, especially *tantras*, are the following: *Abhidhamottara*, *Kṛṣṇayamaritantra*, *Pañcarakṣa*, *Yamalamantraśāstra*, *Mantramahodadhi*, *Śāradātilakatantra*, *Nityaṣoḍasikarnava* and *Prapañchasāratantra*. For a recent study see Pannikar 1996.

33. It is according to the *Varāha-* and *Matsya - purāṇas* (Sahai 1975: 208-9).
34. Textual mandate on the iconography of Varāhamūrti (for e.g. the *Vaikhānasāgama*), speaks of three types of *Varāhas* called Bhūvarāha, Yajñavarāha and Pralayavarāha. Bhūvarāha is also known as Ādivarāha, Nṛvarāha (Māniṭavarāha) and Dharaṇivarāha (Kalidos 1982: 175-6).
35. Koṟṟavai appears in texts like the *Tolkāppiyam* (3:2:2), *Paripāṭal* (11. 96-100) and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (1.258).
36. For all these references see the *Veṭṭuvavari* part of *Cilappatikāram*.
37. Tripura, Kṣemā and Candrāvalī (who come under the various lists of Yogninīs, see Dehejia 1986: 200, 206 & 207) are assigned the deer or antelope vehicle. It is definitely a later tradition, also of *mṛgavāhinī*.
38. Iconographically known as Śrīvatsa 'mole of Śrī', there are interesting references to this aspect in the early medieval Tamil *Bhakti* literature, especially the *Nālāyirativviyapirapantam*. *Periyāḻvār* in his *Tirupallāṇṭu* (v. 2) says that the beautiful damsel, Śrī, resides on the right chest of the Lord, *vaṭivāy niṉvala mārpil vāḻkiṉṟa maṅkaiyum pallāṇṭu*. By virtue of this quality Viṣṇu is called Cirītaraṉ-Śrīdhara (*Periya Tirumoḻi* 2:3:9, 4:6:2; *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi* 2:1, 5:9), Tirumārvaṉ 'one with Tiru (śrī) on chest' (*Periya Tirumoḻi* 3:1:2, 3:5:2; *Periya Tirumaṭal* 1.148) and so on.
39. The three basic mental qualities or virtues, called *sattva*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.
40. Brahmī, alike Vaiṣṇavī and Maheśvarī, is an emanation of the equivalent male power (i.e., Brahmā). She is different from Sarasvatī, like Lakṣmī and Pārvatī or Umā. Both cannot be the same. There is a texual misconception in this section of the *DevīM*. I am presenting the argument with reference to the *gotra* system in Hindu social organisation. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva get married to Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. Viṣṇu and Pārvatī belong to the same *gotra* since the latter is the former's sister. Brahmā is treated as belonging the same *gotra* since he is treated as a son of Viṣṇu. There are four *gotra* groups connected with the Trimūrtis and their consorts. Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Pārvatī constitute one; Śiva, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are of separate *gotras*. On the basis of the system the feminine editions of Trimūrtis could not be placed on par with their wives. It is because the intra-*gotra* matrimonial alliance is forbidden.
41. *Sruk* and *sruva* are spoons used in Vedic rituals, usually assigned to Brahmā.
42. Cf. a concordant version of Kālī appearing in the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* (Kalidos 1982, see below). According to this *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā, spouse of Śrī Rāma is said to have manifested as Kālī to kill *Sahasramukha*-Rāvaṇa who had 1000 heads.
43. *Etcetera* may stand for *kūrma*, *varāha*, *nṛsiṁha*, in addition to *matsya* who were part of Viṣṇu's *daśāvataras*. Kaṅkālamūrti (cf. the feminine Kaṅkālī) in his iconographical form is supposed to bear the *kaṅkāla*. What is this *kaṅkāla* ? According to the *Kāśyapaśilpaśāstra* (*Paṭalam* 75),

it represents the mortal remains of Viṣṇu's Trivikrama *avatāra*. Krishna Sastri (1911: 103), citing the *Āditya Purāṇa*, says that it is a garland of the mortal remains (i.e., bones) of Viṣṇu's *daśāvatāras* (Kalidos 1989: 84). How does this happen? According to some of the *purāṇas* (e.g. the *Śarabha Purāṇam* in Tamil) when Viṣṇu becomes violent after completing the destined avocation under each of the *avatāra*, he had to be recovered from the *avatāra*-morphosed form and so Śiva tears open the *avatāra*-form to take out Viṣṇu. The mortal remains, viz., the *avatāra* masks, cast aside are being carried away by Kaṅkālamūrti. It is just like Bhikṣāṭana who holds a *kapāla* when he tore the fifth head of Brahmā as Bhairava. Now, in the feminine form of Rātridevī, Śiva's Śakti is doing the same. Śarabhamūrti who recovers Viṣṇu from Nṛsiṁha has a feminine form, called Śarabhammā (Kalidos 1980: 213-18). So, the present argument has a valid justification.

44. A similar challenge is posed by Devī-Taṭātakai in the *Tiruviḷaiyātar̠ Purāṇam*. Born as daughter of a Pāṇḍya king, she undertakes a *dikvijaya*, defeats all and is finally overcome by Śiva in the Himālayas whom she gets married.
45. It was to insult a woman. A similar incident takes place in the *Mahābhārata* when Duryodhana makes Duhṣāsana drag Draupadī by holding her tuft which leads to the Great Bhārata war.
46. Andhkāsuravadhamūrti is slaughtered by Śiva under similar circumstances, the latter aided by the Mātṛkas and Kālī.
47. Cf. Cakradānamūrti, a form of Śiva in which he presents Viṣṇu with a *cakra*. It is a canonified iconographical form where Viṣṇu receives the gift offered by Śiva.
48. Śūleśvarī may stand for the personified *śūla* as other personifications of *śaṅkha*, *cakra* and *padma*. The personified *Cakra* is a famous iconographical type in Tamil Nadu, called Cakkarattāḻvār. There is a separate temple for him at Kuṁbhakōṇam.
49. I keep in mind what Professor Stella Kramrisch has to say on Guheśvara (Meister 1984: 1-11).
50. The text is attributed to the authorship of Ādī Śaṅkara, the *advaita* philosopher. We do not want to enter into the controversies, centering around the authorship of the text, but fall in line with the existing notion that Ādi Śaṅkara was the maker. The date of the *ācārya* is another problem but almost accepted to be the fag end of the 8th century A.D. (Macdonell 1979: 243, 335, 341; Basham 197: 302, 334). Other scholars place him in between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. (Bake 1939-42: 519).
51. See Prologomena n. 1.
52. Say Umāsahitamūrti in which Śiva and Umā appear together. In such forms the position of Śiva is elevated by providing him with four arms while Devī is uniformly *dvibhuja*.
53. According to the *Devībhāgavatam* (quoted in *Saundaryalaharībāsyam* p.2) Śiva witout Śakti is *sava: Śivopi savatām yati kuṇḍalinya vivarjitaḥ*. See Bake 1939-42: 519.
54. *Ānandalaharī* (vv. 1-41) 'wave of bliss' and *Saundaryalaharī* (vv. 42-100) 'wave of loveliness' are the two integral sections of the text.
55. Brahmā creates, Viṣṇu sustains and Śiva destroys.
56. She is called *pañcakṛtyaparāyaṇā* (*LSN* 274). The *LSN* (58) also gives her the epithet, *pañcabrahmāsanasthitā* 'seated on five Brahmās'. By virtue of the status she gets five faces and herself becomes the Trimūrti. The *Sarasvatyaṣṭottara* gives her the epithets *pañcavaktra* (no. 8), Trimūrti (no. 7, also *LSN* 628) and *Brahmaviṣṇuśivātmikā* (no. 108).

57. Thus Devī is seated on five corpses and so the *LSN* (no. 249) calls her *pañcapretāsanāsīnā*. Having absorbed their ethos she becomes *pañcabrahmasvarūpiṇī* (*LSN* 250).
58. Cf. Kaṇṇaki (*supra*) who like Anasūya was able to summon the triple great goddesses while performing the *tour de force* of destroying Maturai.
59. For a rare image of Pañcapretāsanāsīnī-Sadaśivī see R.K.K. Rajarajan 1996.
60. Cf. Vaṭapatraśāyī form of Viṣṇu who a *virāṭpuruṣa* in his own capacity could contract himself into a tiny leaf of the *vaṭa* tree (*Ficus bengalensis*). It is interesting to note here that the metaphor for vagina in Indian literature is the hood of a cobra or the leaf of *vaṭa*.
61. She is *Guhāṁba* or *Guhyarūpiṇī* (*LSN* 706-7). The *LSN* calls her *Yoninilayā* (no. 274) or *baindavāsana* (no. 905) or *kuṇḍalinī* (no. 110). The *Gauryaṣṭottattam* (no. 15) and *Durgāṣṭottaram* (no. 22) call her *Kuṇḍalyai*.
62. *Pṛthvītattva* at *mūlādhāra*, *jalatattva* at *maṇipura*, *agnitattva* at *svadhiṣṭhāna*, *vāyutattva* at *anāhata* and *ākāśatattva* at *viśuddhi* (*AL*. v.9) (*infra*).
63. It is *arūpa*. Śiva has a number of forms (*rūpa*) but basically he is *arūpa*, worshipped in phallic form.
64. See the following texts: *Agastyaśakalādhikāra* (ch. 12), *Kāśyapīya* (ch. 72), *Śilparatna* (ch. 22) and *Śrītattvanidhi* (3:57). All excepting the last one, are later medieval. The *Śilparatna* and *Śrītattvanidhi* include Ardhanārīśvara under the heads *Śaivaprakaraṇam* and *Śaivanidhi* respectively.
65. (1) Cf. the *LSN* epithets *śrīkaṇṭhārdhaśarīṇī* (no. 392) and *śivaśaktaikyasvarūpiṇī* (no. 999), both emphasise the feminine prominence in a basically *ardhanārī* form.
    (2) It is very striking to note the *Cilappatikāram's* (2:23:11. 1-10) description of Maturātēvi (Skt. Madhuradevī). (*supra*).
66. Cf. the following synonymous epithets: Bhuvaneśvarī (*Gauryaṣṭottaram* 21, *Lakṣmīyaṣṭottaram* 108, *Durgāṣṭottam* 101), Viśveśvarī (*Gauryasṭṭotaram* 57), Parāśakti (*Gauryaṣṭottaram* 107), Viśvarūpinī (*Durgāṣṭottaram* 44), Sarveśvarī (*LSN* 202), Viśvarūpa (*LSN* 256), Virāḍrūpa (*LSN* 778) and Viśvatomukhī (*LSN* 780).
67. It is according to the LSN. (no. 521) which gives the epithet, *ājñacakrābhjanilayā*. The *AL* (v. 36) assigns the spot to Śiva. By logic, both occupy the spot in union as in the Liṅga or Ardhanārīsvara. We may note here that an interesting piece of Kālabhairava is to be found at Paiṭhan (Maraṭhvāḍa region in Mahārāshtra) in which an iconographic form to this idea is given (see Kalidos 1989b: 27-8 fig. 1).
68. They are *sānta* 'tranquility', *karuṇa* 'compassion', *śṛṅgāra* 'love', *vīra* 'valour', *hāsya* 'laughter' *adbhuta* 'wonder', *raudra* 'fury' and *bhibhasta* 'loathsomeness'. Cf. the *LSN* (no. 376) *Śṛṅgārarasasampūraṇa*.
69. The *Devīmāhātmyam* (*Pūrvabhāgam, Kavacam* vv. 18-36) presents a glorious picture of Devī's *viśvarūpa* form (*supra*).
70. (1) The *LSN* (no. 43) calls her *kūrmapṛṣṭajayiṣṇuprapadānvitā* '(one having) feet arched like the back of tortoise'. The tortoise is supposed to support the earth in its constellation. Devī's feet supports the cosmic installation. (2) Devī is an embodiment of all knowledge. The *LSN* gives her a number of epithets like *vedavedyā* (no. 335), *śāstramayī* (no. 705), *śāstrasāra* (no. 845), *mantrasāra* (no. 846) and *tattvamayī* (no. 907).
71. The numeral coming next stands for the number of the epithet in its serial order as arranged

by Murthy (1975). The part of the thesis has been elaborated and published by the author in *East and West* (1990, Vol. 40: 1-4, pp. 115-43) under the caption, 'Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art'. See also C.R. Bolon, *Forms of the Goddess Lajjā Gaurī in Indian Art*, Pennsylvania 1992.

72. Cultists used to apply butter at the *yoni* spot and eat the same with a view to beget children, (Cf. Rawson 1978: 32). Attention here is also drawn to a peculiar midnight worship or *vrata* undertaken by womenfolk in Tamil Nadu. They adore a secret deity with offerings and eat the residue. It consists of peanut-like flour cakes, symbolic of semen, never even shown to men. I presume that the worship pertains to the *Yoni*-goddess.
73. Devī is also called *mugdhā* (*LSN* 868) which means 'modest' and 'beautiful'.
74. The *raison d' être* of Devī appearing on the hub circle of Koṇāraka wheels is explicit now which symbolises the *yantra*, taking the cosmic temple along its concourse in the Milky Way, again symbolised by the vast expense of sea water, lying in proximity. We may also note here that the Tamil word for hub is *kuṭam* (Skt. *kuṭa*) and Devī is called *śaktikuṭa* (*LSN* 87). In the anthropomorphic form of representation *śaktikuṭa* stands for the part below the waist and so the *yoni*. The face is *vāgbhavakuṭa* and the torso *madhyakuṭa* (*LSN* 85 & 86). Combination of these three constitutes the *Virāṭśakti* according to the *Pañcadaśīmantra* (Murthy 1975: 68).
75. *Rukmavarṇaṁ kartāramīśaṁ puruṣam Brahmayonīm* (...)
76. Enshrining the united *liṅga* and *āvuṭai* in *garbhagṛhas* is highly suggestive because the word, *garbhagrahaṇam*, means 'impregnation'. The Pirāṉmalai and Tirumalai cave temples in Tamil Nadu houses images of Umāsahitamūrti in *cella*, both perhaps engaged in erotic preplay, leading to *kumārasaṁbhava*. For a case study of the Tirumalai cave temple see R.K.K. Rajarajan 1992: 489-94.
77. The Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara houses an image of Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti in the same location whereas in the Vaital *deul* nearby Naṭarāja is found.
78. In Brāhmaṇical marriages ritual offerings to the firepit, symbolic of the *yonikuṇḍa* (Cf. *jvālamālikākṣiptavahniprākāramadhyagā LSN* 71, *supra*), include the recital of a verse from *Durgāsaptasatī* (Ch. 11, v. 10) as follows:

    Sarvamaṅgala māṅgalye śive sarvārttha sādhike
    śaraṇye tṛyambake gaurī nārāyaṇīnamostute

    'O! Mother you (are) the all auspicious possessor of the sacred thread (*māṅgalyam*) and that you get all (including physical pleasure) from Śiva, I surrender unto you, Tṛyambakī, Gaurī, O! Nārāyaṇī (I) worship you'. The invocation has a Tantric orientation.
79. The famous Kāmāṣkīammaṉ temple at Kāñcīpuram houses a vulva-like slab within the inner circle of the *garbhagṛha* to point out the links between the name and the form. Cf. Philip Rawson, *Oriental Erotic art*, fig. 13.
80. Compare the motifs with Gajalakṣmī.
81. The present summary is based on L.D. Barnett, Mattavilāsa: A Farce by Mahēndravikramavarmaṉ, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. V, 1928-30, pp. 697-717.
82. For a historical treatment of the subject see David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas* and *Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Saivite Sects*, Delhi 1991.

83. Ēkambam is likely to be a reference to the Ekāṁreśvara temple of Kāñcīpuram where the drama is enacted. The present temple is a Vijayanagara product. The Pallava temple found within the enclosure of Ekāṁreśvara, called Vālīśvara, may suggest that right from the Pallava time it was a centre of Śaivism. The present clue leads one to infer that it should have been a centre of Kāpālika activity.
84. My work, Iconography of Śakti Goddesses as reflected in *Śritattvanidhi*, presents a comprehensive account of about 500 Devīs.

CHAPTER II

Iconographical Survey: Upper Deccan

Images of the Śakti Goddesses in Upper Deccan are mostly concentrated in the cave temples of Jogeśvarī, Ellora, Auraṅgābād, Bhokardān and Takli Ḍhokeśvara. Among these centres, Ellora is very important wherein a cavalcade of iconographical typologies are found. In Elephanta the most striking feature is the association of Devī with forms of Śiva as a subordinate power. The only significant carving is that of a panel of the Mātṛkas in the right subsidiary cave, juxtaposed to the main Mahādeva one. In Jogeśvarī and Bhokardān we find few images but they are mostly in dilapidated condition. Ellora is the abode of Śakti iconography in Upper Deccan though the caves here are mostly of Śaiva dedication.

Elephanta

The main projection in the Mahādeva section of the cave being Śiva, both in his phallic form as enshrined in the *sarvatobhadra* shrine and the colossal carvings, illustrating Ardhanārīśvara, Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, Dice Game panel, Gaṅgādhara, Naṭarāja and others, Devī's presence is almost dwarfed. Devī appears uniformly in *dvibhuja*, left hand in *gajahasta* attitude if standing and the right in touch with an assistant of Śiva. Even though the emphasis is on Śiva in most of these composite iconographs, which mainly unite Śiva and Śakti, Ardhanārīśvara is of some importance if viewed from Iḷaṅko's and Śaṅkara's view point. If the entire relief could be divided into two equal sections vertically, the Devī half seems to carry more weightage by way of its distorted elements. The thick headgear, full breast and swelling hip in a way diminish the importance that is usually attached to Śiva in the cave. Again, Devī is endowed with two hands on a par with Śiva and is attended by Viṣṇu on his kite vehicle, female waiters, and the other retinue.

The chapel to the right of the main cave in its left houses images of the Aṣṭa Mātṛkas (Pls. X-XI) flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. The Mātṛkas are uniformly standing. Their left hands bear a banner in which the emblems characteristic (i.e., their *vāhana*) of each one is carved. These help to identify the images. Thus, from right to left (i.e., from the side of Vīrabhadra) they are Brahmī (*haṁsa*), Maheśvarī (Nandi), Kaumārī (peacock), Vaiṣṇavī (*garuḍa*). Aindrī (?), Cāmuṇḍā (lion), Varāhī (?) and an unidentified Mother.[1]

Though the figures are in bold relief, the *lakṣaṇas* are difficult to make out in view of the fact that even the faces are mutilated.

Jogeśvarī

There are few images of Devī in the architecturally important cave but most of them are completely worn out. It is not difficult to identify them, the *lakṣaṇas* being faint. The main entrance to the cave on either sides of the *dvāra* houses two colossal images of Śiva (right) and possibly Durgā (left). These could as well be images of Kṣetrapālaka (or Dvārapālaka) and Dvārapālikā. Normally we come across in cave and structural temples gatekeepers of the same sex. The main entrance to Kailāsa in Ellora and the Pirāṉmalai cave in Tamil Nadu house *dvārapālikās*. In other cases, they are usually *dvārapālakas*. Good examples are the four pairs of *dvārapālakas* appearing at the four doorways of the *sarvatobhadra* Liṅga shrines in the Elephanta main cave and the Ḍumārleṇa in Ellora. But why one each of a male and female appear in Jogeśvarī ? is an interesting question. Perhaps the Devī half of the Ardhanārī tradition is emphasised in the organisation of the cave. I am amaged; let scholars discuss.

The main Liṅga chapel in the cave has some carvings on its door jams. Of them one appears to be Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The shrine at the back side of the cave houses a group of seven images, just in front of a cella for Gaṇapati. These seven are obviously the Sapta Mātṛkas but none of their features could be studied due to worn out condition. They are completely disfigured. The only noteworthy feature is that they carry babies.

Ellora

Śakti goddesses appear in almost all caves with a major emphasis in XIV, XVI and XXI. In all other caves Śakti appears in union with Śiva as we find in the Elephanta main cave. What is of special importance in Ellora is an image of Yoninilayā[2] housed in the *garbhagṛha* of a tiny cave, just above the Gaṇeśa-*leṇa* group.

Rāvaṇa-ka-khai (Cave XIV):

The Cāḷukyan cave, having an elaborate *mukhamaṇḍapa* and *sāndhāra* shrine, is very important for Śakti iconography. The cella being empty, its dedication is a point for debate and some scholars think that it is likely to be a temple for Śakti. If the iconographical alignment in the cave is minutely analysed, the idea gets strengthened.

The *maṇḍapa* section of the cave on either sides of its extremity is guarded by two images of Devī, Siṁhavāhinī to the right and Mahiṣāsuramardinī to the left.[3] Both are *sthānaka*. Siṁhavāhinī stands placing her right leg on the lion's back (Pl. XIII). The zoomorphic lion is a dwarf. Devī is *caturbhuja* and holds a *khaḍga* (? broken) and erect *triśūla* in *parahastas*. The front left hand is in *gajahasta* attitude and the right rested on the lifted right thigh. She wears an ornate headgear with a *cūḍāmaṇi* fitted to it. She wears *makara* (left) and *patra kuṇḍalas* (right), a necklace, *cannavīra* and *mekhala*. The loin cloth is like a petticoat, an apparel we rarely come across. The face is encircled by a halo. There are *vidyādharas* above on both sides.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XIV) appearing on the other side of the *maṇḍapa* is a *sthānaka* image. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the snout of a zoomorphic *mahiṣa* that lifts the head above. The back right hand is broken. The two left hands hold a *triśūla* (back) and *khaḍga* (front). Devī has an ornate headgear and a short loin cloth in marked contrast to Siṁhavāhinī. She wears a *kaṇṭhahāra*, *makara* and *patra kuṇḍalas*, *kaṅkanas* and *keyūras*. Devī's lion vehicle appears behind *mahiṣa* and assists the Goddess in her venture to kill the buffalo-demon. He pounces on the buffalo from behind and bites his back. *Vidyādharas* appear above the relief.

The right side wall of the *maṇḍapa* houses an image of Gajalakṣmī, next to Siṁhavāhinī. Devī is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *padmapīṭha*. She is *dvibhuja* and holds a *padma* in the right hand. The left hand is broken. Two sets of two elephants each appear on either side of Devī, holding *pūrṇa-kuṁbhas* in their proboscis. Above them, *vidyādharas* appear, holding garlands in hands. Devī is also attended by two male figures. These with due reference to one of the same type in Daśāvatāra (Cave XV) may be identified with Bhikṣāṭana and Brahmā. Having plucked the fifth head of Brahmā, Śiva appears before Devī begging alms to get rid of the *brahmahatya*.

The left section of the *sāndhāra* passage around the *garbhagṛha* provides the space for images of Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. XV). All are uniformly seated in *lalitāsana* posture. The emblems typical of the Mātṛkas are carved against each figure, below their seat. Brahmī appears next to Vīrabhadra. Her emblem is the *haṁsa*. She is *ekamukhī* and wears *makarakuṇḍalas* in pendant ear-lobes. She holds the *akṣamālā* in one of the hands. The next one is Maheśvarī who is marked by her *nandi* emblem. She holds a *ḍamarū*. Kaumāri appears with the peacock emblem and holds a mirror in one of the hands. Vaiṣṇavī is attended by *Garuḍapuruṣa* and holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. Varāhī has a human face but is indicated by the *varāha* emblem. She holds a baby in the two hands. Aindrī is marked by the elephant emblem. Cāmuṇḍā is ear-marked by the owl emblem. The Mātṛkas uniformly wear all kinds of ornaments, including *patrakuṇḍalas* at times *makara*, necklaces, *kaṅkaṇas* and *keyūras*.

The row of the Mātṛkas ends with an emaciated figure of Kāla and his counterpart Kālī. Kālī is endowed with two hands and has the left placed on chin to mean wonder. She looks at Kāla. The left wall section houses an array of Śaiva images like Gajasaṁhāramūrti, Naṭarāja, Dice Game and so on. In these illustrations Devī is present as a subordinate factor as in Kāla-Kālī.

The Mātṛkas appear at a strategic place in the cave. It appears as though they guard the womb-house like ribs. The row of sculptures begins with Siṁhavāhinī and ends with Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The Mātṛkas are at a cardinl point. It appears as though a narrative character is added to the cave organisation, probably dedicated to Devī, in which she starts as Siṁhavāhinī in pursuit of demonic forces and atlast accomplishes the undertaking. She is assisted by the Mātṛkas in the venture and they appear like her *aide de camp*. Devī's World Mother aspect is pointed out by the image of Gajalakṣmī who accords redumption to Śiva by extricating him from the *brahmahatya*. The Śakti oriented imagery of the cave would guide us to consider it as a house for Devī. The *garbhagṛha* in those times seems to have housed an image of the Goddess.[4] Now, She is not found there. Inside we find a *bhadrapīṭha*, meant for placement of a *mūlabera*.

Daśāvatāra (Cave XV):

The *Daśāvatāra* is important for its iconographs of Śaiva lineage in which Vaiṣṇava imagery gets its due share. In panels illustrating Gajasaṁhāramūrti, Naṭarāja, Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, Dice Game, Śeṣaśāyī and Bhūvarāhamūrti, images of Śakti goddesses appear in subordinate status. Among these illustrations the presence of Kālī in the Gajasaṁhāramūrti relief is significant. Her image though appearing at the bottom of the panel is full of life and adds a heroic rhythm to the theme. But for her, Śiva would not have been able to slay Andhakāsura whose drops of blood generated into new demons of equal magnitude as the original one. The presence of Kālī was invited who could drink the dripping drops of blood and help the Lord in his venture to do away with the mighty demon . Kālī in the figure is seen lying on ground, holding a *kapāla* in one of the hands to receive the drops of blood as an aide of Śiva. She is emaciated but full of life. Among the various images of the type found in South India, it is one of the outstanding pieces on the subject.

The *garbhagṛha* in the first floor of the cave is *nirandhara* and is subjoined by two images of Devī on its back wall. Gajalakṣmī appears to the left and another form of seated Devī, possibly Sarasvatī, to the right.

The image of Sarasvatī is seated on a *padmāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. She is *dvibhuja* and holds the *akṣamālā* in the right hand. It is the only clue to identify the image with Sarasvatī. The left hand is just placed on the thigh. She is attended by two male beings, may be *kinnaras*, holding *vīṇās*.

Gajalakṣmī is one of the outstanding pieces that we come across in Ellora. She is seated on a *padmāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. She is *dvibhuja* and holds a pot of eatables in the left hand. The right hand holds a *padma*. The stalk of lotus in which Devī is seated is held by *nāgas* and *naginīs*. Gajalakṣmī is attended by four elephants with *pūrṇakuṁbhas* in their proboscis. Besides, two male figures appear, standing on either side of Devī. The right one appears to be Brahmā and the left Śiva in his mendicant aspect as Bhikṣāṭana. The theme is evidently the redumption of Bhikṣāṭana from the *brahmahatya* that he had accrued by tearing off the fifth head of Brahmā whose *kapāla* he holds in hands as a begging vessel.[5] Gajalakṣmī is offering alms, which alone could get rid of the menace, afflicting Śiva.

The narrow passage from where one gets access to the first floor of the cave from the ground houses a row of miniature sculptures (all uniformly of 120 cms.) of which four illustrate Devī and two Ardhanārīśvara. The first one on the Devī theme, fifth from the right is that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. She is engaged in slaying the buffalo-demon while seated. She is *caturbhuja*, holding a *ghanṭa* and *khaḍga* in *parahastas*. One of the front hands holds the head of Mahiṣāsura and the other a *triśūla*. Ardhanārīśvara is a standing image who is also *vṛṣabhārūḍa*. The hand on Devī side holds a *darpaṇa* and the one on Lord's side a *triśūla*. The seventh image is that of Siṁhavāhinī who is seated on a lion in *lalitāsana* posture. The two back hands hold the *triśūla* and *ḍamarū* while the two front hands are placed on thighs. The ninth image seems to be Sarasvatī who is *dvibhuja*, holding the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*. The other two images apear on the left side wall of the staire case. The tenth image illustrating Ardhanārīśvara is of the same typology as the other image in the same panel (i.e., no. 6). The eleventh image is that of Devī, standing in *dvibhaṅga* aspect. She is *caturbhuja*; showing the *kapāla, gajahasta, khaḍga* and *triśūla*. The stylistic output in respect of these image is crude and they strikingly contrast with the aesthetically superior workmanship in the main cave. These are likley to be later additions.

Apart from these images, appearing in the main Daśāvatāra cave, there are also few stray pieces in a small cave, subjoined to the macro rock-cut temple. It appears on the right side of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa*. In one, an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī appears. Devi is seated in *lalitāsana* posture. She is *caturbhuja*; holding the *ghanṭa*, tuft of *mahiṣa, khaḍga* and possibly *triśūla* but broken. Mahiṣāsura is theriomorphic with a human face and animal body. Devī is engaged in cutting the head of Mahiṣa with a sword.

Another subsidiary cave, housing an image of Trimūrti and the Liṅga, has an image of Devī carved on its right wall section. She stands in *samabhaṅga* attitude. She is *dvibhuja* and holds the *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣamālā*. The image seems to be Sarasvatī.

Kailāsa (Cave XVI):

The *façade* section houses two outstanding pieces of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. One of these images appears at the right side of the actual *dvāra* part of the dwarf *gopura*. Devī at the location appears, opposed to an image of Gaṇapati. The relief is placed in a *kūṭaśāla* type of niche. The goddess is an *aṣṭabhuja*-mūrti with most of the emblems in hands broken. She holds the *cakra* and *bāṇa* in two of the right hands. She holds a *khaḍga* with which she attacks the demon. Mahiṣāsura is theriomorphic in form. Devī holds the human head and pulls him out of the *mahiṣa* mask. She is attended by the lion who fights with an attendant of Mahiṣāsura.

The other classical piece (Pl. XIX) appears on the right section of the *façade* in its rear wall. The image closely resembles the famous Mahiṣāsuramardinī relief at Māmallapuram. Though an iconographical marvel of the age, it comes next only to the Māmallapuram piece but is noted for its proportion and aesthetic qualities of the plastic art. A colossal piece (20 x 8'), we find Devī seated in *lalitāsana* posture upon what maybe called the *siṁhāsana*, a live lion being her mount who pounces on an aide of Mahiṣāsura virulently. Devī is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds the *dhanus* and *bāṇa* in *pūrvahastas*. She is ready to shoot an arrow on Mahiṣāsura. Devī holds a shield, trident and other weapons. Mahiṣāsura is anthropomorphic but fitted with the horns of a buffalo. He is very dynamic, a posture which takes the relief close to the Māmallapuram piece. He is in *ālīḍha* posture and holds a *gadā* in such a way to strike the Goddess with all might. Several of his assistants are found trampled by Devī's mount. Above the panel, a galaxy of the gods and goddesses are present to witness Devī's *tour de force*. Among them are the *aṣṭadikpālakas, vidyādharas, apsarase* and others. In this respect, the Ellora piece excels the thematic quality of the Māmallapuram relief in which case they are found missing.[6]

The frontal section of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* in its solid base houses a unique (Pl. XVI.1) Gajalakṣmī, noted for its plastic effects and the volume of work. A colossal piece, Devī is seated on a *padmāsana* in *ardhapadmāsana* posture with the soles meeting. She has two hands, both of them broken. Behind the Goddess, *gajas* are present as though showering the sacred water. *Vidyādharas* and *apsarase* are present above the Goddess. Below the panel a lake, teeming with acquatic creatures and water lilies, is carved.

The uniqueness of the relief is its location. As one makes an entry into the Kailāsa, the first *darṣana* is presented by Devī.[7] A kind of emphasis is placed on Devī. The same pattern is repeated in the organisation and iconographical alignment of the Laṅkeśvara, an annexure to the Kailāsa in its right side. The dark and narrow passage that leads to Laṅkeśvara houses a similar image of Gajalakṣmī, noted for its volume and depth of composition. Devī is *dvibhuja* and holds *padmas*.

A small chapel linking Laṅkeśvara with the *façade* section of Kailāsa houses three River Goddesses (Pl. XVI.2). The middle figure stands on *yāli* and is obviously Gaṅgā. The other two are Yamunā and Sarasvatī or Sonabhadrā. Gaṅgā is *samabhaṅga* while the other two are *tribhaṅga*. All are *dvibhuja* and have the hands graciously suspended below. All are decorated with a number of ornaments. What is interesting in Kailāsa is not the mere presence of the river goddesses. As a matter of fact they occupy an important place in early medieval temples. For example, in Cave XXI Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear on either extremity of the cave at its *façade* section. In Kailāsa, the goddesses are housed in a chapel which is a novel feature, not to be found in any other temple of the age. Thus, the importance attached to Devī in the organisation of Kailāsa is emphasised.

Similarly, the Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. XVII) appear in a chapel on the left side of the monolithic temple. Located at a higher level from the surface of earth, the Mātṛkas appear on the back wall portion of the small cave. The figures are badly mutilated when compared with the better preserved ones in Rāvaṇa-ka-khai. From right to left (i.e., from the side of Vīrabhadra) the Mātṛkas are Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Varāhī and Cāmuṇḍā. The emblems characteristic of the Mātṛkas are boldly carved below the pedestal. We find the following: *haṁsa, nandi, mayūra, garuḍa-puruṣa, gaja, varāha* and a dog.[8] All are seated and *caturbhuja.* The side walls of the cave are represented by gods and goddesses. The left side wall, close to Gaṇapati, is represented by two images of Devīs. The middle one is *caturbhuja* and holds the *nāga,* eatables and *khaḍga* while one is broken. She is seated on a *padmāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. She wears all kinds of ornaments, including anklets. The other Devī is seated on a lion. She is *caturbhuja* and holds a *triśūla* in one of the hands. Both are aspects of Śiva-Śakti and the central figure may represent Devī in her World Mother aspect being attended by a host of secondary goddesses and gods, e.g. Vīrabhadra, Gaṇapati and Kāla.

We come across a good many number of Sapta Mātṛkas right from Udayagiri (near Vidiṣa) to Tiruttaṇi in Tamil Nadu but what is of special importance is the separate houses designed for them in Ellora. The Kailāsa is a good example for the *garbhagṛha* status accorded to the Mātṛkas though it is secondary within the macro format of the cave. Even in Udayagiri we find them lodged in separate chapels. The Mātṛkas' worship seems to have had an important place in the cult history of Western and Central India though in the Far South it was not so. Only in Cōḻa temples (e.g. Mēlappaḻuvūr) of the later medieval period we find the Mātṛkas in a separate chapel. The Pallava-Pāṇḍya tradition was to accord *parivāradevata* status as we find them in Tiruttaṇi, Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, Tirukōkarṇam, Tiruppattūr and other places.

The image of Gajasaṁhāramūrti, carved on a section of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa,* is an outstanding piece that projects the Male-superior ideology. A colossal representation of the Lord in his fierce aspect, he has the left leg lifted and below the miniatures of Sapta Mātṛkas appear. It seems as though the Mothers are a heap of dust at the Lord's foot. The representation strikingly contrasts with the figure of Kālī in the Gajasaṁhāra panel in the Daśāratāra cave. The main figure of Gajasaṁhāramūrti is subjoined by another of Devī, seated near the Lord whose chin he touches. Both these elements, viz., the Mātṛkas and an inanimate Devī, point out the inferior status accorded to feminine element in Indian tradition. Though the Mātṛkas assist Śiva in his war against demonic force, the latter appears to be more vibrant and virulent.

The main section of the Laṅkeśvara houses Śakti images. The back wall of the cave includes a representation of Devī in *caturbhuja* aspect. She stands in *samabhaṅga* attitude. The objects in hands are not clear but appear to be a flower and *kamaṇḍalū* in *parahastas.* The *pūrvahastas* are suspended below. At the foot level fire appears on both sides. One of the pillars on the left side of the cave, parallel to the back wall, has a representation of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. She is *caturbhuja* and seems to hold *āyudha-puruṣas* in *parahastas.* The front left hand holds *mahiṣa* and the right a *khaḍga.* Devī stands behind the buffalo with her left knee raised. She is followed by the lion who pounces upon *mahiṣa.* Mahiṣāsura is theriomorphic with the human one emerging from the zoomorphic beast. A demon stands to the left, holding a club.

The main doorway to the *sarvatobhadra* womb house is attended by the River Goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

The main *garbhagṛha* of the monolithic Kailāsa is attended by *dvārapālikās*. The cella houses the aniconic Liṅga while in Laṅkeśvara Trimūrti appears on the back wall. The kind of alignment, viz., feminine attendants guarding the doorway is typical of Kailāsa in Ellora. It seems to suggest that though the *sanctum sanctorum* is occupied by a form of Śiva, there is a Tantric orientation. Is it to suggest the dominance of the feminine over the masculine power? as we find Ardhanārī in Iḷaṅkō and Ādi Śaṅkara. It is likely because a corollary to the kind of alignment is to be found in the Pirāṉmalai cave temple in Tamil Nadu wherein the cella dedicated to Umāsahitamūrti is down to this day called the temple of Nalľamaṅkaipākasvāmi (= Ardhanārīśvara). Furthermore, the Laṅkeśvara in its plinth section houses a number of erotic carvings, which confirm the Tantric orientation of the cave. These motifs deserve a comparison with the image of Yoninilayā and *surasundarīs* who are found in Rāmeśvara (Cave XXI) at Ellora. Erotic motifs appear on pillar sections in the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the *garbhagṛha* in the Kailāsa monolith. Again an image of Devī, attended by Brahmā and Viṣṇu appears on the ceiling, just in front of the *garbhagṛha*. All these point out the fact that the indubitable Śakti element has played a vital role in the organisation of Kailāsa, its architectural setting and iconographic programme.

The *pāda* section of the monolith in its right side, close to the *mukhabhadra* projection, houses Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XX). Devī in the illustration is *ṣaṭbhuja* and holds the *kheṭaka, khaḍga, triśūla* and *pāśa* in four of them. One holds the horns of Mahiṣāsura and the other is in *sūcimudrā*. The buffalo demon is human with the buffalo horns. He is fallen and lying down, holding a *khaḍga*. To the right the lion vehicle of Devī is seated at ease. He has a human body and lion head. He has a smiling face. The position of Devī's Siṁhavāhana in the carving is of particular interest. In addition to vibrating a sense of humour, it shows that the lion who associates himself with Devī in the process of the rendition of Mahiṣāsura relaxes and is seated leisurely when the demon is fallen.

The corridor of the cave which goes around the monolith is noted for its iconographical illustrations. It is interesting to note that Śiva and Viṣṇu receive the lion's share. Brahmā appears as a subsidiary factor in panels like Liṅgodbhava, Tripurāntaka and so on. Devī gets her subsidiary place in many of the panels associated with either Śiva or Viṣṇu but not independently projected. Nevertheless, the row of sculptures which begins with Rāvaṇa offering the *navakaṇḍam* sacrifice to a Liṅga ends with an image of Devī. She is Mahāsarasvatī (Pl. XVIII). She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *kamaṇḍalū* and *akṣamālā* in two of them. She has a halo behind the head and is decorated with all kinds of ornaments. The array of sculptures, beginning with Rāvaṇā-Liṅga and terminating with Sarasvatī if viewed from the *pradakṣiṇa* point of view, is significant. If an arrow could be drawn from the Rāvaṇa-Liṅga base, the end point is that of Mahāsarasvatī, the Great Mother who according to the *Devīmāhātmyam* is the core Śakti behind all cosmic activities. In arranging the iconographical illustrations in the corridor section of the Kailāsa a kind of emphasis is placed on Devī.

The Kailāsa as an architectural masterpiece is singularly unique in several respects. Though a temple dedicated to Śiva-Mahādeva in his phallic form, it has a Tantric orientation as proved by the iconographical representations. There are four pieces of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XXII.1), two of Gajalakṣmī, separate chapels for the River Goddesses, the Sapta Mātṛkas, *dvārapālikās* and so on lend support to the view. It perhaps may be the reason why the inscription of Karka II Rāṣṭrakūṭa compares the Kailāsa itself to Śrī(devī) in a metaphor. That is to say the Kailāsa as far as its *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is concerned is a form of Viśvarūpinī-Mahādevī.

Cave XVII:

A huge cave with twelve massive pillars, it is *sāndhāra* and devoid of iconographical illustrations when compared with XIV, XV, XVI and XXI. The frontal section of the cave consists of two huge reliefs of Gaṇapati and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, facing each other, to the north and south respectively. Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl . XXI) is voluminous (11' height) but a simple typology. Devī is four armed and holds the *kheṭaka*, *triśūla* and *khaḍga* in three of the hands. The front left hand holds the snout of zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. The *khaḍga* is held vertically in *prayoga* aspect. The trident's shaft is striking the back of *mahiṣa*. An attendant stands to the right of Devī while two *vidyādharas* are present above. The absence of a lion is conspicuous in the illustration. As in the Kailāsa the iconographical alignment, linking Gaṇapati with Mahiṣāsuramardinī, is a noteworthy feature.

Another important point is the presence of *surasundarī* motifs in pillar sections. Almost all pillars, massive with bulbous capitals, are fitted with several types of *surasundaris* that point out the Tantric orientation of the cave.

Rāmeśvara (Cave XXI) (Pl. VI.2):

The main cave is an elaborate *maṇḍapa*. The adjuncts on either side of the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* are fallen. The cave has another adjunct on its left side that is *sāndhāra* with images of Gaṇapati and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, aligned in a pattern as in Cave XVII. The image of the Goddess (height 5.5') is also of the same typology as in Cave XVII. She holds the *khaḍga* and *triśūla*.

Rāmeśvara proper comes next only to XIV and XVI in its emphasis on the Devī aspect. There are images of Yoninilayā, Sapta Mātṛkas, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Kālī and so on.

The Nandi-*pīṭha* (Pl. XXIII.1), in axial alignment with the *garbhagṛha*, is an exceptional piece of work. The pedestal on its open top houses a zoomorphic image of Nandi, Śiva's vehicle, who symbolises both sexual virulity and *dharma*. The plinth part in all its four sides houses iconographical specimens. All seem to have been on Devī theme of which the section falling behind the Bull's tail illustrates Yoninilayā (Pl. XXIII.2) who greets the visitor while making an entry into the complex. The Goddess is seated with both heels placed on the pedestal as in *utkuṭikāsana*. The thighs are widened, soles held close and the buttocks pressed on the pedestal. The Goddess is *dvibhuja* and holds them uplifted. The features are mutilated and so the emblems are defaced. She wears an ornamental headgear. She is attended by two female *cauri*-bearers. Both of them are standing. What is of significance in the present image is the exposture of *yoni* that falls in a straight line to the testicles of Nandi, enshrined above. Devī's *yoni* aspect being the focus of attention, it may be a representation of Yoninilāyā, noted in *LSN*. The position of the *yoni* in the Nandi-pedestal is impregnate with hidden ideas. If an imaginary hole could be designed at the *yoni* spot to cut across the Nandi-pedestal, one may have a direct access to the Liṅga housed in the main cella of Rāmeśvara. The purpose is evident. As visualised by Ādi Śaṅkara even though the masculine imposition of the *liṅga* over the *yoni* in the aniconic representation is visibly brought out, the fact that it is the *yoni* that provides the resting space to the *liṅga* is evident. It is this ideology that the Yoninilayā of Rāmeśvara purports to symbolise. In the process of thematization, the ideas of Śaṅkara are likely to have provided the theoretical framework. In Rāmeśvara the emphasis is on the Devī aspect and the cave is oriented toward the Tantric ideology.

Another significant feature of the image is its Dvāravāsinī status. The main doorway (*dvāra*) to Rāmeśvara is blocked by the Nandi-pedestal. One making an entry into the cave has to move around the pedestal. In later medieval temples (e.g. the Rājarājeśvaram of Tañcāvūr) the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* and the huge image of Nandi lie in front of the main doorway to the temple and block the way. Nandi blocking the way has a significance of its own because there is a story to explain the symbol.[9] In Rāmeśvara not only the Nandi is significant but also Devī who is present in Yoninilayā aspect as Dvāravāsinī, resident at the threshold. It may serve to explain the symbolism of the *dvāra*. Devī is symbolic of *dvāra* as she is the Yoninilayā. *Yoni* and *dvāra* are equals. That is to say one making an entry into the presence of Śiva has to move through Devī's *yoni*, represented in temple architecture by the *dvāra*.[10]

We make an entry through *yoni-dvāra*, symbolised in the Rāmeśvara by an architectural technique. Normally in cave temples the *façade* section consists of full pillars. In the cave temples of Tamil Nadu and Kerala there are two massive pillars. But in the Rāmeśvara these are actually *ardhastambhas*, four of them placed above a parapet. The outer section of the parapet is decorated with *mithuna* motifs. The *ardhastambhas* are decorated with *surasundarī* motifs. One standing inside the cave may find rays of the sun peeping into the dark cave, especially during the evening twilight. The rays which pour in symbolically go through Yoninilayā and the *surasundarīs* who are Devī's representations. Conception takes place inside the cave since the term *garbhagṛha(nam)* not only means the womb house but also 'impregnation'. The in-going rays are symbolic of that which makes an entry into the *yoni*. The holes formed by the parapet and *ardhastambhas* of Rāmeśvara are symbolically *yonis*. The functional character of the process of impregnation is pointed out by the *mithuna* figures, which appear at the outer part of the parapet. The design and execution of the pillars and parapet in Rāmeśvara not only strengthen the Yoninilayā character of Devī but also the Tantric orientation of the cave.

The oblong *mukhamaṇḍapa* on either extremity consists of two miniature *maṇḍapas* or chapels. Images of Śakti goddesses appear in these quarters. The back walls of the cave, adjoining the *sanctum sanctorum*, house huge reliefs of Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti and Dice Game.

The right lateral *maṇḍapa* section houses an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī on its left side wall with Kārttikeya, both facing each other. The back wall illustrates a running panel relating to the Marriage of Śiva and Umā. The left lateral chapel houses images of Sapta Mātṛkas on its back wall. The left side wall illustrates Kāla-Kālī and the right Naṭarāja.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XXIV) is a portrait of the typology we usually come across in Ellora. Devī is found holding the snout of *mahiṣa* with her front left hand and a *khaḍga* in *prayoga* attitude. She also holds the *triśūla* and *kheṭaka* in *parahastas*. She has the right leg placed on *Mahiṣa's* back. She wears a loin cloth, comparable to the rare one, earlier noted in Cave XIV. She is decorated with all kinds of ornaments; an ornate headgear, *patra* and *makara kuṇḍalas, udarabandha* and necklaces. Two of Mahiṣāsura's assistants are found resisting Devī, holding clubs in their hands. The lion is missing while *vidyādharas* and *apsarase* appear above the panel.

The Kalyāṇasundaramūrti panel is divided into three equal sections of which the first from the left illustrates Devī standing in *samabhaṅga* attitude. She is *dvibhuja*, having the left hand in *ūruhasta* attitude and the right in *abhayamudrā*.

The Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. XXV.1) in the left lateral shrine are seated in *lalitāsana* upon *bhadrapīṭhas*, excepting the first one, perhaps Brahmī, seated in *pralambapāda* attitude. The vehicles of the goddesses are marked below the pedestal of which only two are visible in case of numbers two and five. They are bull for Maheśvarī and *varāha* for Varāhī. The Mātṛka, Brahmī seated near Vīrabhadra, is *caturbhuja* and bears the *kamaṇḍalū, akṣamālā* and *padma* in her hands. She has pendant ear lobes and wears a *ekāvali* necklace. The second, Maheśvarī, wears *patrakuṇḍalas* and *mālās*. From Maheśvarī onwards all the five other Mātṛkas are found having babies, seated on their laps. Kaumārī is *caturbhuja* and holds a *darpaṇa* in one of the hands. She wears necklaces, anklets and the *cannavīra*. Vaiṣṇavī holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. She wears *makara* and *patra kuṇḍalas* in the left and right ears respectively. Varāhī has a human face and wears *patrakuṇḍalas*. Aindrī holds the *vajra* in one of the hands. Cāmuṇḍā holds a *ghaṇṭa* in the back left hand.

Devī appearing in the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, Dice Game and Kāla panels is of some importance. In the first two, Devī appears to be an equal, seated besides Śiva. Her status of equality is pointed out in the Dice Game play, which could only be enacted by equals if not their immediate subordinates. In the Kāla panel, Kālī stands besides Kāla. Emaciated and *dvibhuja*, she seems to attend on Kāla and is followed by her assistants, Kūḷis.

The *façade* section of Rāmeśvara houses Gaṅgā (Pl. XXII.2) and Yamunā. Both are *dvibhuja* and wear all kinds of ornaments, including ornate headgears. Gaṅgā stands on a *yāli-pīṭha*. Both are attended by dwarf *gaṇas* upon whose heads they place one of their hands.

Though the Rāmeśvara is by dedication to Śiva, the iconographical setting of the cave as in XIV and XVI is of special interest. Our earlier generalization that the Rāmeśvara has a Tantric orientation holds good if spoken with reference to the images of Yoninilayā, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Sapta Mātṛkas, the River Goddesses and the *maithuna* figures. The Rāmeśvara also deserves an interesting comparison with the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave, which has been elaborated in a separate article by the author. All these evidences support the view that the Rāmeśvara was a centre of the Tantric school.

Cave XXII:

The back wall of the cave's *mukhamaṇḍapa* houses images of Sarasvatī (right) and Gajalakṣmī (left) as in Cave XV. Its *mahāmaṇḍapa* is an elaborate section with four massive pillars at the *façade* level and two each on the lateral sides and the back side. There is a separate enclave for the Mātṛkas on the left side of the cave at a lower level from the main *garbhagṛha*.

Sarasvatī is seated. The Goddess is in *lalitāsana* posture, placed on a *padmapīṭha*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *kamaṇḍalū, puṣtaka* (?) and *padma* in three while the remaining hand is broken. She wears a *makuṭa, keyūras, kaṅkanas, ekāvali* necklace and *udarabandha*.

Gajalakṣmī is seated in *ardhapadmāsana* on a *padmāsana*. Elephants appear above the head and pour sanctified water. The Goddess wears all kind of ornaments. The figure is very simple when compared with the thematically sophisticated imagery found in the other caves (XIV, XV and XVI).

A small enclave below the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* of the cave provides the venue for images of Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. XXV.2). All are seated, partly in *utkuṭikāsana* posture. All are *caturbhuja* and carry babies, excepting few like Varāhī and Cāmuṇḍā. The Mothers from Vīrabhadra onwards are Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā. Varāhī is sow-faced while Vaiṣṇavī holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in her hands. All wear conical-*makuṭas, kuṇḍalas, mālās, yajñopavītas*, anklets and other ornaments.

Caves XXIII to XXVII:

These caves are practically devoid of iconographical illustration when compared with the volume of work in XIV, XV, XVI and XXI. Here and there few miniatures of Sarasvatī appear who are uniformly *sthānaka, dvibhuja* and hold the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*. The caves are found just above No. XXII in the up-hill direction on the path that leads to Gaṇeśa-*leṇa* group. Cave XXV seems to have housed an image of Gajalakṣmī but what all remains now is the *gaja*.

Cave XXVII is of Vaiṣṇava affiliation. There is an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XXVI) in the wall of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Devī is *caturbhuja* and holds the *triśūla* and *kheṭaka* in *parahastas*. The front left hand holds the snout of *mahiṣa* and the right a *khaḍga* that cuts the head of the zoomorphic beast. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and other ornaments. In another relief, illustrating what we earlier called Yādava-Trimūrtis, the central figure is that of Subhadrā. Known as Ekānaṁśā in North Indian tradition, it is the only one of its kind in Ellora. Subhadrā is found in the relief at the centre. She is *sthānaka*, *samabhaṅga* and *dvibhuja*. The right hand is in *ūruhasta* attitude and the left holds a *padma*. Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva stand to her right and left respectively. Subhadrā in middle is Śakti oriented because she takes the place of Viṣṇu (Cave XXVII, Ellora), Śiva (Cave XVI, Ellora's Laṅkeśvara) and Brahmā (Tirucci-Lower Cave) of the order of Trimūrtis.

Ḍumārleṇa or *Sītā-ka-nani* (Cave XXIX):

A purely Śaivite cave as in case of Elephanta, no images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śakti appear here independently but form part of panels, illustrating Śiva's feats. Śakti in these images is subordinated to the masculine principle. It should have been obviously a centre of Kāpālika or Kālāmukha school of vigorous Śaivism.

Devī appears with Gajasaṁhāramūrti. Devī's imagery in the image is in contrast with the colossal figure of Śiva. Devī alone is about 5' in height. She is seated, *dvibhuja* and has one of the hands placed on her chin to point out wonder. A similar figure of Devī appears in the Naṭarāja relief. Devī in the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti panel is in a different mode. Akin to the huge relief in Kailāsa, Devī is being held in *āliṅgana* by Śiva who consoles her to ward off the fear from Rāvaṇa's daring attempt to lift the hill, Kailāsa. In Dice Game and Kalyāṇasundara reliefs Devī's *primus interpares* status is visibly brought out.

Jogeśvarī Group:

The Ganeśa-*leṇa* group is of no value from the Śakta point of view. No image of Śakti goddess appears in any of the eleven small caves found on either side of the river. Rarely in one (no. 3 on the left side) a cave dedicated to Trimūrti and Liṅga, an image of Gajalakṣmī appears on the doorframe. Just above the spot, (Pl. II.1) some new caves have come to light. One of them houses an image of Yoninilayā in its cella. A recent writing in Hindi says that it is a cave for Jogeśvarī-mātā. The illegible image carved on the back wall of the cella represents an aspect of Yoninilayā, the type of images we come across mostly in Alampūr, Aihole and Mahākūṭa.[11]

Though illegible, the Yoninilayā of the Jogeśvarī cave is in birth position with the thighs widened. It has a link with the Yoninilayā of Rāmeśvara in its thematic input. The

Mother has a big belly, pointing out her pregnant status. In Alampūr and Aihole the images have no heads but a fully blossomed lotus and so called *padmavaktrakā*. It seems that people worship the image today. The Mother as a Cosmic Being is believed to provide progeny to people. In Tārācuram (Kuṁbhakōṇam in Tamil Nadu) an image of Yoninilayā-*padmavaktrakā* is under worship.[12] What is important in Ellora is the presence of the typology in the *sanctum sanctorum* of a cave temple. It is to emphasise the cult value attached to Yoninilayā in early medieval tradition. The Jogeśvarī cave is perhaps the only living temple in Ellora. The name, Jogeśvarī, itself points out the fact that it is connected with the esoteric tradition. It may also be true of Jogeśvarī in Greater Mumbai as has already been pointed out (*supra*). Though there are a number of Yoninilayā-*padmavaktrakā* images in Alampūr and Āihole, all of them are stray pieces and it is not possible to trace their original location in temples. None of the *devakoṣṭhas* in the temples of the places house any specimen of the typology. Its presence in the *garbhagṛha* of a cave in Ellora is of great value to assess the merits of the image with reference to cult value.

Buddhist and Jain Caves

The Buddhist caves (nos. I to XIII) and Jain (nos. XXX to XXXIV) in Ellora house a number of Śakti goddesses. These goddesses have a common root though they come under the heterodoxical order. Among the Buddhas, we find Ārya-Sarasvatī in association with Avalokiteśvara (Cave X), Tārā with Avalokiteśvara (Cave X), Vajradhātīśvarī, Cuṇḍā, Jaṅgulī, Mahāmayurī, Vasudharā, Bhṛkūti, Paṇḍarā (all in Cave XII), Hārītī and so on.[13] In Cave XI *tīntal* few stray miniatures of Siṁhavāhinī, Gaṇapati and Cāmuṇḍā (?) are found in the second floor. These appear to be Hindu images, perhaps the result of a later Hinduisation effort, and may fall in line with the miniatures noted in Cave XV. Similar carvings are found in Nākamalai (near Maturai) in Tamil Nadu among a group of Jain monuments.

The notable Śākti image among the Jain group in Ellora is the presence of a number of Cakreśvarīs, seated and holding *cakras* in both the *parahastas*. She may be a Jain edition of Vaiṣṇavī. Another important form is that of Jvālāmālinī who though a goddess of the Hindu order fails to appear in temples of the lineage.

Besides Ellora, Ajaṇṭa, Auraṅgābād, Nāśik, Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri (Orissa), Kanheri, Bhāja, Beḍsa, Kārle and so on are other places wherein Śakti images of the heterodoxical order are to be found in huge numbers. Barābar and Junāgāḍ, lying at the two extremities of the Aśokan Mauryan Empire, are good from the architectural point of view but of no use for Hindu iconographical study. The archaic format of caves in Barābar and the sophistication arrived at Janāgāḍ are wonders though chronologically earlier when compared with Ellora and wrought in a new medium of stone, i.e., lime. Especially the three group of Junāgāḍ caves, one among the mountainous ruins dug into the earth in the pattern of a step-well, are simply architectural marvels when compared with even the *tīntals* of Ellora. An iconographic study of the Śakti goddesses deserves a study but the present writer has avoided them in view of their exclusive character, which merits a separate volume.

Though the few typologies, noted above come under the Jain-Buddhist order, their affinity with Śakti goddesses of the Hindu pantheon could not be overlooked.

Auraṅgābād

Mainly a centre of Buddhist art, the northern group in its right extremity has a cave dedicated to Gaṇapati with images of the goddesses in side walls. Among them are Siṁhavāhinī and the Sapta Mātṛkas.

The Sapta Mātṛkas are standing in *samapāda* (Pl. XII). They are Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Aindrī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varahī and Cāmuṇḍā. All are uniformly *dvibhuja*, one in *ūruhasta* attitude and the others showing *abhayamudrā*. Cāmuṇḍā is an emaciated figure as in Ellora. Varāhī has a human face. The vehicles of the Mātṛkas are found missing in the illustration. Siṁhavāhinī who stands left to Gaṇapati is a *caturbhuja* image. She holds the *khaḍga, kheṭaka, triśūla* and *ghaṇṭa*. The relief is defaced at the lower level and so the features of *siṁha* are not clear. It is also not clear whether an image of Mahiṣa in human form was also carved near the Goddess' right leg that is lifted above. The front left hand is graciously suspended below in *gajahasta* attitude, which adds an aesthetic tenor to the composition. Stylistically, the Auraṅgābād Mātṛkas are far superior to the ones that we come across in Cave XXII, Ellora.

Though there are two groups of Buddhist caves in Auraṅgābād, the Gaṇapati chapel is the only one of its type. Within the same walls there are traces of Buddhist imagery. So, scholars think that this could have been converted into a Hindu one though originally Buddhist.[14]

Bhokardān

Figure carvings in the cave are defaced very much, and so it is difficult to identify many of the images. K.V. Soundararajan with due reference to the *halā* found in the hand of a male figure, identifies the female character associated with him as Subhadrā. She is the only Subhadrā that we find in Upper Deccan, next to Ellora.

Another important carving is that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī who fights with the demon, perhaps the fourth piece on the subject, among next to those of Māmallapuram, Ellora (Kailāsa) and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi.[15] Mahiṣāsura as in Māmallapuram holds a *khaḍga* and *kheṭaka* and fights with the Goddess. He is human in form. Devī standing in *ālīḍha* posture encounters with Mahiṣāsura by shooting the arrow from the bow. Few attendants of Mahiṣa are present but the carving is much disfigured.

Takli Ḍhokeśvara

As in Rāmeśvara, Ellora, the doorway of the cave is guarded by images of the River

Goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā. A *sthānaka* image, the Goddess is *dvibhuja*. She has the left hand suspended below in *gajahasta* attitude and the right bent at the joints and lifted above. She wears an ornate headgear and wears *patra* and *makara kuṇḍalas*. Gaṅgā is standing on the back of a crocodile. Yamunā also of the same tenor of composition and style but stands on the back of a tortoise.

The Sapta Mātṛkas are uniformly seated in *lalitāsana* attitude, excepting the first, Brahmī in *pralambapāda* and Varāhī in *utkuṭikāsana*. The vehicles are marked below the pedestal as follows: a *cāmara*-bearer for Brahmī, *nandi* for Maheśvarī, *mayūra* for Kaumarī, *garuḍa* for Vaiṣṇavī, *varāha* for Varāhī, *gaja* for Aindrī and jackal for Cāmuṇḍā.

CONSOLIDATION

Totally 14 iconographical variables appear in Upper Deccan, excepting the one of Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, which is a variation of Sapta Mātṛkas. Ellora proves to be the main field of concentration and distribution, both in variables (13) and individual specimens (47). All other places are on the same plane as far as the concentration and distribution pattern of variables and individuals specimens are concerned. Among the variables none, excepting the Mātṛkas, appear uniformly in all centres. Durgā, Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, *Sthānaka*-Devī and *Āsana*-Devī are very rare factors, which appear in any one of the centres. Mahiṣāsuramardinī stands first in respect of quantitative output; Sarasvatī, Sapta Mātṛkas, Gajalakṣmī, the River Goddesses and Siṁhavāhinī coming next in the order of priority.

Though 15 variables are counted as per Table I, several of them contitute an entity. There are several typologies of Mahiṣāsuramardinī but only two appear in Upper Deccan. Of them, Siṁhavāhinī is one, which is related to Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Durgā of Jogeśvarī could as well be a form of *Sthānaka*-Devī, which name has been coined, like *Āsana*-Devī, to point out the unidentifiable variables, taking into due account the stance. Strictly speaking Durgā appears only in the Far South (*infra* chap. IV) and is nothing but a progression over a form of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The only specimen on Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, spotted in Elephanta, shows the development of the form in Upper Deccan. It is again a rare piece. Though the River Goddesses are three in Ellora, including Sonabhadrā, normally they appear in a pair, representing Gaṅgā and Yamunā. It could by all means be brought under a common variable, called River Goddesses.

The number of variables and specimens, when compared with Śiva and Viṣṇu, are minimal. It may show that the Śākta system was still in its rudimentary stage and had to march a long way before reaching the level of iconographical maturation. In the respect the Buddhist-Jain pantheon lends further support to take into few forms like Jvālāmālinī and Hārītī. Hārītī deserves a note because the Cāḷukyas claim to be children of the goddess in their inscriptions. Cakreśvarī is an interesting corolary to Vaiṣṇavī. Though these goddesses are important in an over-all analysis, their place in the respective pantheon was of a subordinate character. Male gods, the Buddhas and the Tīrthaṅkaras, are vigorously masculine and their Śaktis are never independent and preeminent as in Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism wherein the Śaktis break off to attain a status of eminence.

It is also of some interest to note that among the various goddesses traceable, none excepting Yoninilayā attains *garbhagṛha* status. Even the miniature cella allotted for the Mātṛkas in Ellora as in the cave with Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh) seem to accord them only the status of *parivaradevatās*, strictly speaking. This interesting phenomenon will have to be further analysed with reference to the distribution pattern in Lower Deccan and the Far South.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF ICONOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES: UPPER DECCAN

Variables	Distribution pattern: place-wise						
	Elephanta	Ellora	Jogeśvarī	Auraṅgābād	Bhokardān	Takli-Ḍhokeśvara	Total
Mahiṣāsuramardinī	-	10	-	-	1	0	11
Siṁhavāhini	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
Durgā	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Sapta Mātṛkas	-	5	1	1	-	1	8
Aṣṭa Mātṛkas	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sarasvatī	-	9	-	-	-	-	9
Gajalakṣmī	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
Kālī	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Yoninilayā	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Subhadrā	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Gaṅgā	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
Yamunā	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
Sonabhadrā	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sthānaka-Devī	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Āsana-Devī	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total	1	47	2	2	2	3	57

Note: 1. Yoninilayā (Jogeśvarī group, Ellora), River goddesses (Kailāsa, Ellora) and Sapta Mātṛkas appear in *garbhagṛhas*.

2. Devīs appearing with Śiva in subordinate position as in Elephanta and Ellora (XV, XVI, XXI & XXIX) are not taken into account, excepting Kālī.

3. Buddhist-Jain Goddess are not taken into account.

REFERENCES

1. K.V. Soundararajan (1981: 92) identifies the image with the feminine counterpart of Kubera. It is with reference to a *dhvaja* carved on top of the figure with a *vimāna* of four pillars (*puṣpaka* ?), an emblem of Kubera.
2. For a detailed study on the aspect see Raju Kalidos, "Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art", *East and West*, Vol. 40: 1-4, 1990, pp. 115-43. The main figure under consideration is that of a laid up female in birth position with a blossomed lotus in the place of the head. She has the legs contracted to form *uttānapāda*.
3. The matter is taken up for a detailed examination in ch. V. Refer to my article in the *Acta Orientalia* (*infra* n. 6), Vol. 50, 1989, pp. 7-48.
4. It is with reference to a photographic illustration appearing in K.V. Soundararajan's work (1981: Pl. LIII B).
5. For a detailed examination of the myth see Raju Kalidos, Are there Criminal Gods in the Hindu Panetheon: A Case Study of the Kālabhairava Image at Prathiṣṭhānapura, *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, VI: 2, 1989, pp. 19-34.
6. Devī fighting with Mahiṣāsura and engaged in slaying the zoomorphic *mahiṣa* are two different sub-variables of the same theme. For a detailed examination and classification of the sub-variables see Raju Kalidos, Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, 1989, pp. 16-48.
7. For a similar alignment in the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave see my article on Structure and Organisation of the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Cave Temple, *Annali*, Vol. 51:3, 1991, pp. 263-72. Caves XIV, XVI and XXI of Ellora, the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave and the monolithic Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram are good examples of Tantric orientation. It has been examined in my article "Devī's Preeminence in Early Medieval Cult System and Art: A Study in Ādī Śaṅkara's Philosophical Impact", Paper sent to the VIII World Sanskrit Conference (synopsis published), Vienna, 1990. See also R.K.K. Rajarajan, "Further Light on Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Caves", *Annali*, Vol. 51;4, 1991, pp. 398-408, figs. 2, 3, 6.
8. Cāmuṇḍā is associated with *śuma* or *śvā* 'dog', *mṛgadhūrtakāḥ* 'jackal' (e.g.Takli Ḍhokeśvar cave *infra*), *nara* 'man' or corpse and *ulkaḥ* 'owl'.
9. Nantaṉār, one among the Nayaṉmār, had to encounter the hurdle presented by Nandi in his worship of Śiva at the Tiruppuṉkūr (Tañcāvūr district) temple. According to the myth it was at the intervention of Śiva that Nandi gave way to enable Nantaṉār have a *darṣana* of the Lord. See *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam* or *Periya Purāṇam*, no. 18, *Tirunāḷaippōvār-purāṇam*.
10. The aspect has been examined in a detailed study by the author in an article, "Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art", *East and West* (*supra* n.2). Iconographically not less than eleven typologies have been traced from the various parts of South India right from the early medieval to the later medieval period. See also the author's Dvāravāsinī, paper presented in Sanskrit Conference, University of Pune, Pune 1997.
11. For details see *infra* chap. III and also my article on "Yoninilayā ..." (*supra* n. 2).
12. *Padmavaktrakā* is an epithet of Devī, noted in *Sarasvatyaṣṭottaram* (No. 8). As a metaphor the epithet may imply that Devī has a countenance akin to a *padma* that is soft, radiant and luminous. Spoken with reference to the context of our study and the specimens available on

the subject, I am inclined to treat it a direct reference to the Goddess, Yoninilayā, who has a *padma* in lieu of *vaktra*.

13. For illustrations see R.S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*, Pls. 30, 33, 34, 36.
14. The Tantric orientation of the Buddhist caves has been recently elaborated upon. See Carmel Berkson, *The Caves at Aurangabad: Early Buddhist Tantric Art in India*, Ahmedabad 1988.
15. The Ellora, Bhokardān and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi pieces are akin to each other while in Māmallapuram Mahiṣāsura has a *mahiṣa* head. For the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi image see Raju Kalidos, "The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Cave Temples", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, 1988, pp. 62-3.

CHAPTER III

Iconographical Survey: Lower Deccan and the Kṛṣṇā Delta

Badāmī, Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakkal and Aihole are the centres of Śakti iconography in Lower Deccan. In the Kṛṣṇā delta few images are to be found in Moghulrājapuram. An important feature of the availability of Śakti icons in the zone is that many of them are displaced and found in local site museums and not *in situ*. When compared with Upper Deccan and the Far South, the contrasting factor seems to be a problem to reckon with. Again no living early medieval temple for Śaktī is found in the zone. The specimens lodged in structural temples, for example Badāmī, seem to have been dislodged and consequently found in site museum. The same is the case with Paṭṭadakkal and Aihole. In Alampūr few images are found *in situ* but those housed in the museum outnumber the originally installed images. In the lower Kṛṣṇā delta the important place is Moghulrājapuram but the specimens are miniatures and very few in number.

Badāmī

Of the three caves, the first alone houses a specimen of Mahiṣāsuramardinī while Caves II and III are devoid of independent Śakti images. Caves II and III being of Vaiṣṇava affiliation, house specimens of the various forms of Viṣṇu but even then the association of either Śrīdevī or Bhūdevī is very rare. The two Varāhamūrtis alone carry Bhūdevī in their hands. Nṛsiṁha in Cave III appears in Kevala aspect and neither Vaikuṇṭhamūrti or *Sthānaka*-Viṣṇu is associated with Devīs as found in Kāñcīpuram and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi in the Far South. Harihara in Cave I is a different typology. Normally, he appears all alone but in Badāmī we find Śiva-Śakti, and Viṣṇu-Śakti along with the bull headed Nandi and *Garuḍa-puruṣa* attending on the Lord. Similarly, Ardhanārīśvara who usually appears alone is attended by a Devī to the left, and Bhṛṅgi and a zoomorphic Bull to the right. There is a kind of emphasis on the Śakti aspect in the first Śaiva cave, which means the influence of the ideas adumbrated by the school of Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara. The marked contrast in respect of the Vaiṣṇava caves would reveal the fact that in Badāmī, the core zone of Cāḷukya activity, the Śrīvaiṣṇava ideology (i.e., no Viṣṇu without Śrī) had no ground.[1]

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XXVII) is a standing *atibhaṅga* image, has the right leg slightly lifted and uses it to push the head of a zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the beast's tail tightly with the front left hand. The front right hand holds a long *triśūla*, its shaft thrust into *mahiṣa's* neck. The *parahastas* bear a *prayogacakra* (right) and *śaṅkha* (left). The Goddess wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, patra* and *ratnakuṇḍalas, mālās, cannavīra* and *kaṭibandha*, all of intricate workmanship and consisting of pearl decoration. Stylistically, it is one of the outstanding carvings of the early medieval saga of art. There are several specimens on the subject but the piece gets very close to the aesthetic insemination infused by the Gupta artists at Udayagiri (Pl. IX). The image is housed in a separate cella, subjoined to the main cave. Devī appears on its back wall while images of Skanda (right) and Gaṇapati (left) appear on side walls as though the sons are attending on their heroic mother. The kind of alignment is a rare factor within the range of early medieval art. In Ellora, Devī is mostly juxtaposed to Gaṇapati (e.g. *gopura* piece in Kailāsa, the adjunct to cave XXI and so on; also the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave in the Far South) and rarely to Kārttikeya (the right adjunct of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* in Cave XXI, Ellora). Both the sons attending on the Mother is one of its type.

Caves II and III house a specimen each of seated Devī and Gajalakṣmī in miniature reliefs. A running panel, just above the corbels which merge with the roof, *Āsana*-Devī in Cave II is of some importance because Devī is attended by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Gajalakṣmī in Cave III is seated in *pralambapāda* attitude and attended by ladies.[2] Few more images appear as bracket motifs on pillars (Pl. XXVIII.1).

Badāmī Museum:

There are outstanding pieces of Yoninilayā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Their provenance is not known but may be stray collections from the hilly region wherein the structural temples are found. Yoninilayā could have been from a quarter of the hill wherein the esoteric cult was vigorously practiced in possibly a hypaethral temple.

Yoninilayā is a *padmavaktrakā* with the 'Lotus Head' formed of a fully blossomed outer layer of petals and the inner rows not yet open (Pl. XXIX.1). The inner un-blossomed petals form a head-like structure. Devī is *dvibhuja* and holds in both hands *padmas* of similar composition. The torso of the image is slender with a slightly protruding belly and pendant breasts. The thighs are drawn backwards, bent at joints and soles up-lifted. The *yoni* spot is legibly exposed. Devī wears necklaces, bangles and anklets. Stylistically, it is one of the outstanding carvings of the age. Its affinity with the local school of Cāḷukyan artists could not be questioned and the medium is red sandstone. We find the specimen housed in the Badāmī museum on a wooden case in vertical position. This is a wrong arrangement because it should be laid up in the horizontal order.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a *bas relief*. Devī is *sthānaka* in *atibhaṅga* posture. She is *caturbhuja* and holds a *khaḍga* in *prayoga* attitude in the back right hand. The other three hands are broken but the front right hand had a *triśūla* with its shaft section thrust into the back of zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. The back left hand seems to hold a *kheṭaka*. Devī is attended by *vidyādharas*, appearing on the upper right side. She wears all kinds of ornaments and a *karaṇḍamakuṭa*. Two warriors holding swords in their hands are found resisting Devī. *Mahiṣa* has his head lifted and is in flight to escape Devi's wrath.

Upper Śivālaya (Vol. II, Pl. XXXVIII.2):

The temple in its row of miniature reliefs, appearing at the back plinth level, houses a remarkable carving of *Kumārasaṁbhava*. There are nine characters in the dramatic work of which the centre of attraction is on Devī and Śiva found in the middle part. Śiva stands in *sthānaka* attitude who is *caturbhuja*; holding *pāśa* (?), *triśūla* and *nāga* with the front left hand in *ūruhasta* attitude. Devī stands to his right who is *dvibhuja* and holds the baby, Kumāra, laid up in her arms. The right part of the relief illustrates Devi seated on a *bhadrāsana* and is visited by Śiva. Then, Śiva is found standing near his Bull vehicle, having one of the two hands rested on the animal's back. Agni is found standing nearby who has received the Lord's semen virile and has it converted into a baby. In the next panel, he has handed over the baby to Devī. To the right extremity we find a domestic scene, perhaps the household of Devī who are engaged in churning butter. It is a unique carving in the entire range of early medieval art, which perhaps gives life to the epic treatment given by *mahākavi*-Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasaṁbhava*. Another panel of the type is found in the Aihole museum. It is to point out that the Cāḷukyan artists, working around the metropolis of the empire, had a fascination for the theme that led to few immortal creations. Especially, the Upper Śivālaya relief, though a miniature, is rhythmic and dramatic in presentation.

Bhūtanātha Complex (Pl. II.2):

The stray carvings on a boulder near the Bhūtanātha temple complex includes a piece of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Devī is *aṣṭabhuja*, standing in *ālīḍha* posture and having the lifted left leg placed on the shoulder of Mahiṣāsura who is human. She holds the *śaṅkha, dhanus* and *kheṭaka* in three of the left back hands. The front left hand pushes Mahiṣāsura down, holding his tuft. She holds a long *triśūla* in the front right hand that is striking the demon's head in the usual position, i.e., the shaft downwards. The other three right hands hold a *cakra, gadā* and *khaḍga*. Devī uses the *khaḍga* to cut Mahiṣāsura's head. The lion stands on the right side, observing the slaughter. Mahiṣāsura is in *pratyālīḍha* posture, holding a shield in left hand. Thematically, it is a good illustration because Mahiṣāsura, usually zoomorphic, is anthropomorphic. The typology is slaughter as in the Gupta prototype. The demon appearing in human form as in the battle scene (Ellora XVI, Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi and of course Māmallapuram also) is a novel idiom. It shows that the artist has combined both the idioms in the illustration.[3]

In another grotto, which is unfinished, images of Gaṇapati (right) and Mahiṣāsuramardinī (left) are carved at the *façade* level. Devī in the carving is *caturbhuja* and has the front left hand holding *mahiṣa's* head and has the trident striking the beast. In Badāmī it is a good example for Gaṇapati-Devī alignment as guardians of the temple.

Mahākūṭa (Pl. III.2):

The Mahākūṭeśvara temple houses few specimens *in situ* (Pl. XXVIII.2) and some stray pieces are found in and around the temple complex. Two of the stray images are housed in cella of recent origin.They are Sarasvatī and Gaurammā according to the local lables.

Sarasvatī is a medium-sized image (height 5'). Seated in *padmāsana*, the image is four-handed holding *pāśa, puṣtaka, akṣamālā* (also held in *abhayamudrā*) and *ṭaṅka*. The Goddess wears various kinds of ornaments. The head is overshadowed by a *catrāvali*.

Gaurammā (Gaurī), as the local legend calls it, is a representation of *Āsana*-Devī. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *ḍamarū* and *triśūla* in *parahastas*. Objects in *pūrvahastas* are not clear. Two more images are found in the chapel wherein Gaurammā is housed. One is that of Vaiṣṇavī in the usual aspect and the other a standing image of Devī.

All the three images noted above are sure to be stary pieces and possibly of a later date when compared with the imagery found in the Mahākūṭeśvara and its subsidiary shrines.

Below the *sthalavṛkṣa* of the temple few stray images are found. One is that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. About 3' in height, the image is *caturbhuja*, holding a *triśūla* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. One of the front hands is found pushing the head of a zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. Another stray piece on the same subject is found outside, just in front of a small tea stall, attached to the temple. The Goddess is *caturbhuja*, holding the *prayogacakra* and *śaṅkha* in *parahastas*. With the front left hand she pushes the head of Mahiṣāsura down and strikes his chest with a *trīśūla* found in the front right hand. She wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and other ornaments. Mahiṣāsura is human in form. His features, especially the torso, are much damaged. The anthropomorphic features are quite visible. It is one more evidence to prove the iconographical trends, characteristic of the North and the South, that merge in the core zone of Cāḷukyan artistic experiment. Stylistically speaking, it is one of the better cast when compared with the Badāmī stray piece.

Another piece of Mahiṣāsuramardinī appears in one of the *devakoṣṭhas* of the Mahākūṭeśvara temple. Housed within an ornate structure, the *caturbhuja* image holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. The front right hands hold a *triśūla* thrust into the demon's neck. The left hand holds Mahiṣāsura's tuft. Mahiṣāsura in the representation is partly anthropomorphic and partly zoomorphic. It appears as though the original human Mahiṣa is emerging from the neck of the animal.

The *Rākṣasa* Gateway's significance with the images of Kāla-Kālī (Vol. II, Pl. XXXIX) has been examined in the previous volume. Kālī (Pl. XXX.1) stands in a bizzare posture with the feet held close and thighs widened. She is *dvibhuja* and has the right hand lifted above head and left touching the genital organ. She is emaciated with pendant breasts, bulging eyes rolling within the cavities and deflated bosom. She wears *patrakuṇḍalas*, *mālās* and *uttarīya*. The body consists of bones and skull. The image appears on the left *koṣṭha*, adjoining the *dvāra* of the *gopura*. Similar images appear in caves XIV, XVI and XXI of Ellora. It is to point out that all of them subscribe to a common iconographic norm though the programme *vis-à-vis* cave and structural temples differs. The Mahākūṭa piece is of some significance, spoken with reference to its placement. Kālī appearing near the *dvāra* may point out the fact that she is *dvāravāsinī*. The position of the left hand, touching the vagina, is of some significance to prove the *yoninilayā* aspect of the Goddess. Our earlier generalization to this effect stands supported at Mahākūṭa. It may also be added that similar images appearing in Ellora should also be symbolically of the same order.

The main Nandi-pedestal of the Mahākūṭeśvara temple on its left side has an image of Yoninilayā of the type found in the Badāmī museum (Pl. XXIX.2). The image is much damaged but the features, i.e., *padmavaktrakā* and *yoninilayā* aspects, are clearly visible. It is likely to have been housed in one of the several mini-shrines found within the temple complex spoken with due reference to the Jogeśvarī group of caves in Ellora and the empty mini-temples of Mahākūṭa. Outside the temple a stray Mahiṣāmardinī is found (Pl. XXX.2)

Paṭṭadakkal (Pl. III.1):

Though Paṭṭadakkal is noted for its structural temples and the innumerable iconographical decorations on walls sections, appearing in *devakoṣṭhas*, nothing significant from the Śakti point of view is to be found. Most of the images are those of Śiva and Viṣṇu and obviously the male-superior ideology dominates the scene. There are few images of Ardhanārīśvara.

The Virūpākṣa temple in one its back *koṣṭhas* houses an image of *aṣṭabhuja-sthānaka* Viṣṇu. The lower section of this carving consists of a miniature of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The Goddess stands in *atibhaṅga* posture having the front left hand stamped on *mahiṣa's* head and pushing it downwards. She holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. Mahiṣa is zoomorphic. Devī on the right side is attended by a devotee who cuts his head in an effort to sacrifice his own self. The kind of motif is very common in the Far South of which we find samples in the *Varāha-maṇḍapa* and Draupadī-*ratha* of Māmallapuram and the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi (lower), Kuṉṉakkuṭi and other caves. An idiom popular with Tamil artists of the age, it has percolated into the core zone of Cāḷukyan art that serves to point out the Pallava influence on the Virūpākṣa of Paṭṭaḍakkal.[4] A small chapel near the *sanctum* houses a Devī killing a demon (Pl. XXXI.1).

The Mallikārjuna temple in one of its pillar sections of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* houses an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The thematic input in the image is akin to the famous image of the type housed in the left wall section of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa* at Māmallapuram. The similarity between the two images is very striking and adds one more point to confirm Pallava influence on the Cāḷukyan art at Paṭṭadakkal as it has been rightly pointed out by several earlier writers like C. Sivaramamurti, G.M. Tartakov, Vidya Dehejia, M. Seshadri and others.[5] The Paṭṭadakkal miniature consists of Siṁhavāhinī-Devī who fights with the therioanthropic Mahiṣāsura. The latter has a human torso and buffalo head. He holds a club in his two hands and resists Devī, the invader. The latter is *aṣṭabhuja*, slim and graceful astride her *siṁhavāhana*. She wields the *dhanus* and *bāṇa* in *pūrvahastas* and in the remaining hands the usual *āyudha* emblems are found. She holds a *khaḍga, ghaṇṭa* (?), *cakra, śaṅkha, pāśa* (?) and *kheṭaka*. Gary Michael Tartakov and Vidya Dehejia have pointed out that it is a piece that has been inspired by the Pallava original at Māmallapuram and the theme has managed to percolate upto Ellora (e.g. the famous piece in Kailāsa). The hypothesis that the Pallava art had its influence on Cāḷukya as a result of Vikramāditya's invasion of Kāñcīpuram is valid and that the subsequent creation of the Virūpākṣa temple with a host of its mini-shrines (model temples) were all the result of the political interaction.

There are some stray pieces in Paṭṭadakkal of which one is an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. It is completely defaced and is about 3' in height. Another image of Devī seated in *lalitāsana* posture with two hands is found. There is a bust of Cāmuṇḍā about 2' in height. The Śaṅgameśvara temple in its back *koṣṭha* houses an image of Śiva in *kuñcita* attitude whose leg an emaciated figure holds. Similar works are found in Alampūr. The identification of the emaciated figure is problematic and may either be Bhṛṅgi or Kālī.

Paṭṭadakkal by and large is a centre of Śaiva icons. No important image of Śakti is found here. Surprisingly enough, the Sapta Mātṛkas fail to appear, which almost is a universal theme, found present in most centres in the Deccan. It may give scope to the hypothesis that Paṭṭadakkal was a strong centre of Vīraśaivas for whom Śiva was more important than other gods and goddesses and that is why all others, including Viṣṇu, are subordinated. The Ardhanārīśvara images found here, of which there are not less than seven, are likely to proclaim the male-superior ideology in marked contrast with Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam.

Aihole

The Rāvulaphaḍi cave, Durgā and other structural temples house a number of images on Śakti themes. The Aihole museum houses a number of stray pieces as in Badāmī. Those in museum outnumber the originally installed images in temples.

Rāvulaphaḍi:

The *ardhamaṇḍapa* section of the cave that links the *garbhagṛha* with *mahāmaṇḍapa* in its left wall houses an important image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The Goddess is *aṣṭabhuja* and stands in *atibhaṅga* posture. She holds the *śaṅkha, kheṭaka, cakra, khaḍga, nāga* and *triśūla* in seven of the hands while the front left holds the snout of zoomorphic *mahiṣa* and has it pulled upwards. She wears a short lion cloth and all other ornaments like *ratnakuṇḍalas*, necklaces, *cannavīra* and anklets with pearls fitted, called in Tamil *kolucu*. Devī's *siṁhavāhana* is present as an inactive spectator.

The image of Naṭarāja appearing in a subsidiary *maṇḍapa*, subjoined to the *mahāmaṇḍapa* on its right side includes the Mātṛkas (Pl. XXXIV.1). Two of them appear along with the Lord on the back wall. The two side walls illustrate three each of the Mātṛkas. All the Mātṛkas in the group are uniformly *dvibhuja* and hold no emblems in their hands. All wear tall *kīrīṭamakuṭas, cannavīras, keyūras, kaṅkanas, mekhalas* and all other ornaments. The loin cloth is very short and tightly tied to the body upto the knee level. The same kind of apparel is fitted to Mahiṣāsuramardinī. It is a kind of folk dress that people in rural Karṇāṭaka wear today. In the Rāvulaphaḍi the folk element in respect of dress and ornaments adds an interesting perspective to the iconographical composition. Another important point is that the Mātṛkas are eight in number which we come across only in Aihole next to Elephanta. Thematically, the association of the *Aṣṭa* Mātṛkas with Naṭarāja is an interesting phenomenon. Casually, it may also be noted that Skanda and Gaṇapati are linked with Naṭarāja in the Rāvulaphaḍi.

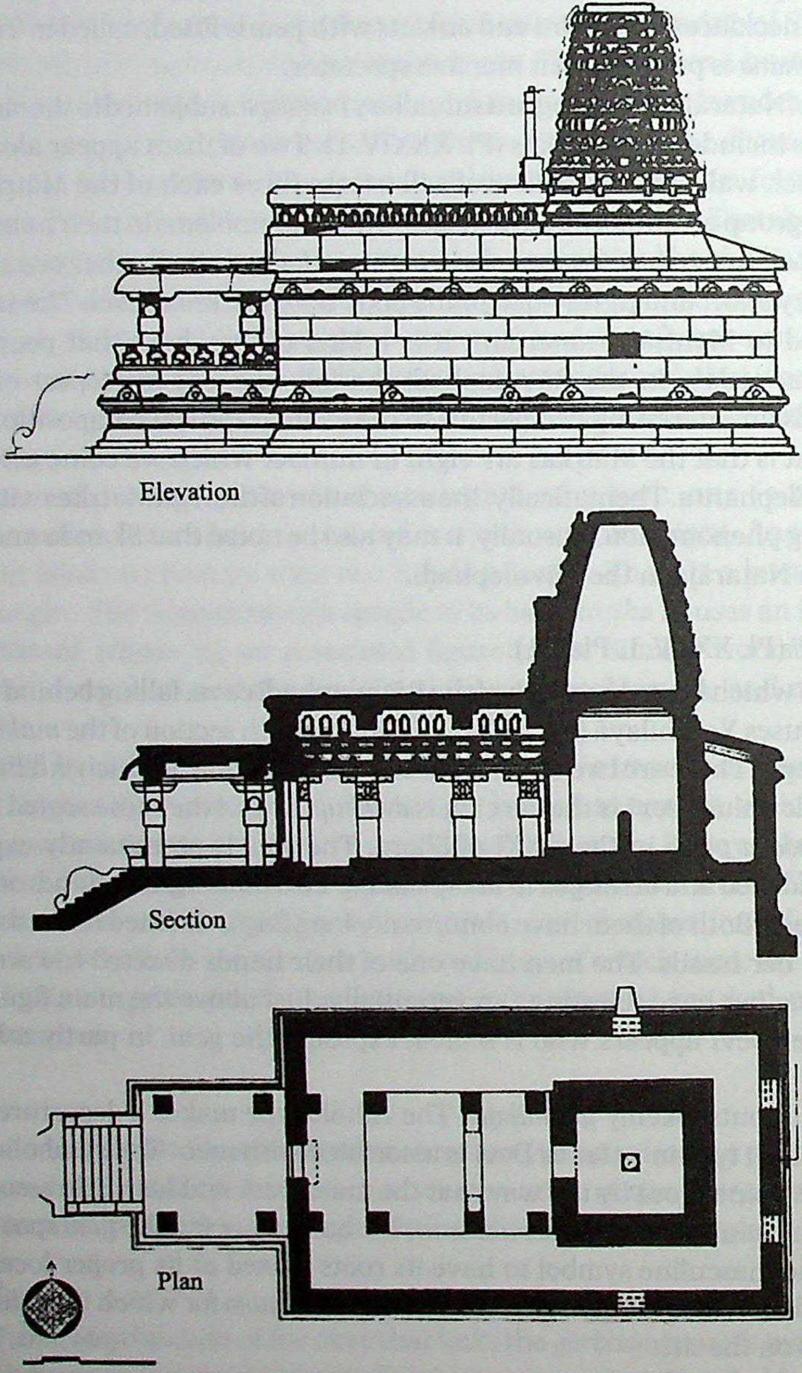
Ucchimalli-Guḍi (Pl. XXXV.1, Plan 1):

The temple, which lies to the north of the Rāvulaphaḍi cave, falling behind the Aihole Rest House, houses Yoninilayā (Pl. XXXV.2-3) in its plinth section of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the main temple.There are two more miniature temples, one of which is dilapidated, of no iconographic value. Devī is the carving is *dvibhuja* and of the same seated posture as the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* piece in Cave XXI of Ellora. The *yoni* is prominently exposed, the thighs being widened and arranged in *utkuṭikāsana*. Two male figures stand, one each on either side of Devī. Both of them have abnormally long *liṅgas* directed towards Devī that she holds with her hands. The men have one of their hands directed towards Devī as though touching her head (blessing ?) reverentially. Just above the main figure a miniature of another Devī appears who is seated, exposing the *yoni*, in partly *utkuṭikāsana* attitude.

The symbol is outspokenly *yoninilayā*. The Aihole type makes a departure from the Ellora (Rāmeśvara) type in as far as Devī is associated with men. The symbolic union of *yoni* and *liṅga* is pointed out by the way that the main Devī and her male associates are interlinked.[6] The miniature Devī has her front left hand showing the *yoni* spot that is an invitation to the masculine symbol to have its roots affixed at its proper location. The Aihole piece is deliberately at the Tantric cult orgy of *mithuna* for which there are several other examples on the site.

Durgā Temple:

One of its *koṣṭhas* on the left side of the apsidal temple, houses an outstanding


Elevation
Section
Plan

1. Ucchimalligudi, Aihole: Elevation, Section and Plan

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XXXII). Devī is *aṣṭabhuja* and has the upper two hands lifted above, bearing *triśūla* and *ghaṇṭa*. The other three left hands are broken. The right hands hold *khaḍga* and *śakti*. *Mahiṣa* is zoomorphic and lies in front of Devī, having the head lifted above. The lion stands at the right corner of the panel as an inactive spectator.

An important aspect of the iconographic programme in the Durgā temple as is the case with several others (for e.g. Lad Khan, Kont-*guḍi*, Galaganātha and so on) is the numerous decoration with *surasundarī* and *mithuna* motifs. In addition to human beings, semi-divine godlings like *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* are engaged in erotic dalliances. These images appear on *pāda-varga* part of the temple and the pillar sections. These when compared with the outstanding piece in Ucchimalli-*guḍi* would enable possible the generalization that Aihole should have been an important centre of the Tantric cult of the Śākta order.[7] The numerous images of the Śakti goddesses found in Aihole when compared with Paṭṭadakkal would serve to confirm the view.

Kont-Guḍi:

The temple adjoining the main temple on its right side is of some interest from the Tantric point of view. The main *dvāra* of the temple, that is the passage, which leads into the *garbhagṛha*, on its door frames houses *mithuna* motifs in all three sides. Men and women are found engaged in sexual intercourse in a kind of acrobatic posture. Though there are several of them appearing one above the other, all linked in a chain pattern, the unity of action being akin to *cakrāsana* in Tantric orgy. The placement of the panel is singularly unique in the entire range of early medieval art as the main doorway to the holy of the holies is supposed to be guarded by *mithuna* practioners. If the female participants in these motifs could be identified with Devī, it goes without saying that Devī is *dvārāvasinī*.

Another shrine that lies in front of the shrine noted above houses two images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. These are placed on the wall section, adjoining the doorway. Both are miniatures and about 2' in height. In both the goddess is engaged in slaying zoomorphic *mahiṣas*. Devī is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds *mahiṣa's* snout. She holds the *śaṅkha, cakra, triśūla, dhanus* and *khaḍga* in hands. She is attended by *gaṇas*.

Lad Khan Temple:

The *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the temple houses some interesting images in its pillar sections. These are miniatures. But for them, no major carving of Śakti lineage is found. One of the pillars has a representation of Gajalakṣmī (Pl. XXXVI.1), seated and attended by elephants doing *abhiṣeka*. Another carving has two female figures seated by the side of a male. The God is *caturbhuja* and holds flowers in the *parahastas*. He stands erect in *samabhaṅga* attitude, his genital organ, made *ūrdhvaretas*. The female attendants seem to be Devīs, both of them seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*. Both their *yonis* are prominently exposed. Devī on the right side holds one of her hands as though touching the *liṅga*, directed towards her. No doubt, the carving has a Tantric orientation and seems to be an interesting corolary to the type of Yoninilayā found in the Ucchimalli-*guḍi*. The Lad Khan is noted for its *mithuna* motifs, which confirm the view that it had a Tantric orientation.

Among the other temples in Aihole, the group found just in front of the Meghūti is of some interest. In the Mallikārjuna temple, an image of Naṭeśvarī appears on one of the pillars. Devī performs a recital akin to *ānandatāṇḍavam* (Vol. II, Pl. LV.2). She has one of the front hands thrown across the body in *gaja* or *ḍola hasta* attitude. One of the breasts is hidden and the other visibly shown. Though we have a number of Naṭarāja images from Ellora in the north to Mūvaraiveṉṟāṉ in the south, no image of Naṭeśvarī is reported. It is one of the rare images found in the entire range of early medieval art. Though a miniature, it adds an important variable to the list of Śakti iconography of the period.[8]

Amidst the Jain group of temples in Aihole, there is a temple called after Gaurī. The temple houses an image of Devī seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* attitude. About 4' in height, the image is *aṣṭabhuja*. Devī holds the *śaṅkha, dhanus, khaḍga, cakra, triśūla* and *bāṇa* in seven of the hands while one is placed on thigh. The Hucchapayya-*maṭha* temple houses interesting *mithuna* figures (Pl. XXXIV.2)

Aihole Museum:

The Aihole Museum both inside and outside lodges a number of specimens on Śakti iconography. There are not less than half a dozen images of Sapta Mātṛkas, few of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Yoninilayā, seated Devī (Pl. XXXVI.1) and so on. There is a rare image which illustrates the *Kumārasaṁbhava* episode.

Many of the Sapta Mātṛka panels are defaced (Pl. XXXI.2). They are uniformly seated, some of them in *lalitāsana*, some in *mahārājalīlāsana* and few in *ardhapadmāsana* postures. They are flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. The totemic emblems, the *vāhanas* are carved below the pedestals. Cāmuṇḍā is emaciated and Varāhī boar-faceed. They are either *caturbhuja* or *dvibhuja*.

Yoninilāya is of the Alampūr typology and the one that is housed in the Badāmī Museum. The image is round, not a relief and much damaged. The left half of the thigh and the breasts alone are intact.The *yoni* aspect is visibly exposed.

The *bas relief* illustrating *Kumarāsaṁbhava* is one of the outstanding creations (Pl. XXXVI.2). While the Badāmī piece found in the plinth section of the Upper Śivālaya is a miniature the present images is life size. Devī is seated on a pedestal in *lalitāsana* posture. She is attended by the Kṛttikā Mothers, one among whom carries the baby, Skanda. Other attendants include those of *gaṇas*, Devi's lion vehicle, *vidyādharas* and others. The scene relates to the birth of Kumāra whom the Kṛttika Mother carries in her hands and hands over the baby to the Primordial Mother. Thematically, it falls in line with the Badāmī miniature. Carved in red sandstone, it is one of the outstanding masterpieces of Cāḷukyan artists, both stylistically and thematically.[9]

Mahiṣāsuramardinī seems to be seated on a pedestal with the left leg laid up and the right stretched towards the end of the relief. The Goddess is *caturbhuja* and holds the *triśūla, khaḍga* and *ghaṇṭa* in three of the hands. The front left hand holds the tuft of the human-demon who emerges through the zoomorphic buffalo. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* that is encircled by a halo.

An image found outside the museum illustrates a *caturbhuja* Devī, seated in *padmāsana*. She holds the *aṅkuśa* (right) and *cakra* (left) in *parahastas*. The original hands display *abhaya* (right) and *dyāna mudrās*. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and other ornaments. The relief is about 3' in height and thematically one of the novelties of the age. Devī (Pl. XXXIII.2) seems to be engrossed in *yoga* and may be called Yogīśvarī (slang Jogeśvari), the Feminine counter part of the Yogīśvaras of Elephanta and Ellora (Cave XVI). In later medieval South Indian art Devī engaged in *yoga* or *tapas* is a common theme as we come across several of them in Vijayanagara temples in Tamil Nadu. Within the purview of early medieval art, the Yogīśvarī of Aihole is an exceptional piece of works.

Another broken image of the same typology is to be found outside the Badāmī Museum. It is about 5' in height and much mutilated. The hands and legs are completely broken, including the breasts. Devī's facial expression and the tenor of composition indicates beyond doubt that it is an illustration of Yogīśvarī. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas, mālās* and *cannavīra*. Stylistically speaking, the piece excels the previous one that is pointed out by the serene countenance. It is unfortunate that such a thematically and stylistically significant piece is so badly mutilated .

Many more of the impressions of Devī whose busts and torso alone remain and are arranged beautifully on the show-case of the Aihole Museum. Not less than a dozen such mutilated pieces are there. It is very strange to note that in Badāmī, Mahākūṭa, Aihole and Alampūr (*infra*) the Devī images in Museums outnumber those found *in situ*. That is to point out that at one stage in the history of Karṇāṭaka the fanatic Vīraśaiva movement could have caused the expulsion of Devī images from temples. That may be the reason why many of them in Ellora (e.g. Sapta Mātṛkas in Yajñaśālā of Cave XVI) are broken.

Alampūr

In Alampūr we find a number of images of the Śakti goddesses. As the case is with Aihole most of them are displaced and housed in the local site museum. Few stray pieces are found in the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the Arkha-Brahmā temple and many more reinstalled in the Bāla-Brahmā temple. Quantitatively, images of Sapta Mātṛkas and Mahiṣāsuramardinī dominate the list. Few pieces of Yoninilayā, locally called Reṇukādevī, are present.

Bāla-Brahmā Temple:

The doorway of the *garbhagṛha* is flanked by Bhairava (left) and Bhairavī or Cāmuṇḍā (right) (Pl. XXXVII.1). Devī is emaciated and presents a frightful appearance. The bodily frame consists of bones, covered with a live skin. The mouth is wide agape, the eyes bulging and the nose thick. The head is decorated with *kapālas*. An owl sits at top of the headgear. Devī is partly seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* posture. She is *caturbhuja* and holds a *khaṭvaṅga, kapāla, ḍamarū* and *pāśa* (?). She wears a *kapālamālā* and has a *sava* as her ear ornament(right). The left ear has a *patrakuṇḍala*. Devī is seated upon a *sava*, laid up in *pretāsana* position. The arrangement of the Bhairava-Bhairavī (or Kāla-Kālī ?) images at the *dvāra* part of the *garbhagṛha* in the temple is significant and is the only one of its type within the Eastern Cāḷukya zone. It recapitulates the location of Kāla-Kālī in the *gopura* of the Mahākūṭa *gopura*. The *dvāravāsinī* status of the Goddess gets further confirmed at Alampūr. Devī in the carving seated on a *sava* and wearing a *pretakuṇḍala* has some striking similarities with images in other areas of the study. The image of Bhairava found juxtaposed to Gaṇapati in the Sapta Mātṛkas enclave at Cave XVI, Ellora, and the image of Cāmuṇḍā in Māmallapuram (stray piece) are seated upon *savas* and wear a *pretakuṇḍala*. The Alampūr typology combines within its composition iconographical precepts known to artists in Māmallapuram (Far South), Ellora (Upper Deccan) and Mahākūṭa (core zone within the lower Deccan).[10] Nearby, Devī with dwarf attendants is in *sthānaka* mode (Pl. XXXVII.2). One is seated in yogic attitude (Pl. XXXVIII.2).

On the right side of the *garbhagṛha*, the Sapta Mātṛkas and Navagrahas are installed who occupy the space blocking the *sāndāra* passage, meant for *pradakṣiṇa*. It is to point out that the two sets of images have been reinstalled at a later stage in the history of the Bāla-Brahmā temple. The Sapta Mātṛkas (Pls. IV-V) are originals of the Cāḷukyan period but the Navagrahas are recent additions. There is every reason to believe that these are not original installations. Again, having provided a *pradakṣiṇapātha* why should it be blocked with images ? a kind of architectural alignment, which fails to appear in any other temple of the age.[11] In Cave XIV of Ellora, the Sapta Mātṛkas occupy an area within the *sāndāra* passage but they do not block the way.

The Mātṛkas are flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. Among the seven Mothers, Brahmī comes first. She is polycephalous and wears *jaṭāmakuṭas* in all three heads. The earlobes are pendant with no ornaments on them. She wears the *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. The hands are four and bear the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*. Maheśvarī is seated on *nandi* and bears the *triśūla* and *pāśa* in two of the four hands. She wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa*, big necklace, *patra* and *makara kuṇḍalas*. Kaumārī is seated on a *mayūra* and *dvibhuja*. She holds the *śakti* in left hand. She wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa, patra* and *ratna kuṇḍalas*, and a big necklace. Vaiṣṇavī is seated on *Garuḍa-puruṣa*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *śaṅkha* and *prayogacakra*. She wears an ornate headgear, *makarakuṇḍalas* in pendant earlobes, *ekāvali* necklace and so on. Varāhī is sowfaced and has the head turned leftwise. Indrāṇī is *dvibhuja* and holds the *vajra*. She wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa* and *yajñopavīta*. Cāmuṇḍā is *caturbhuja* and holds the *khaḍga* and *triśūla* in two of the hands. The hair is dishevelled. She wears a *muṇḍamālā* and a *pretakuṇḍala* in right ear. A wild boar is her vehicle.

The outer wall that encloses both Bāla- and Garuḍa- Brāhmā temples houses images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in back sections. The goddess stands in *pratyālīḍha* posture, having the *kuñcitapāda* placed on the head of a zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. Devī holds the tail of *mahiṣa* with her original left hand. The corresponding right hand holds an erect *khaḍga*. The other hands hold *ghaṇṭa, śaṅkha, dhanus, bāṇa* and *cakra*.

Garuḍa-Brahmā Temple:

The left wall section of the temple houses an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The typology is the same, earlier described. The Goddess is in *ālīḍha* posture, having the left lifted leg placed on *mahiṣa's* back. She is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds the buffalo's horn tightly and inserts a short *triśūla* into his neck. The other hands hold the *śaṅkha, dhanus, kheṭaka, bāṇa, khaḍga* and *cakra*.

The other temples in Alampūr do not house any image of Śakti lineage. Though the Svarga- and Viśva- Brahmā temples are noted for their iconographical embellishment in the *devakoṣṭhas*, none of the pieces *in situ* relate to Śakti.

Kumāra-Brahmā Temple (Pl. XLII):

There is an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The Goddess is *caturbhuja* and holds the *śaṅkha, cakra* and *triśūla* in three of the hands while the front left holds *mahiṣa's* snout tightly. The *triśūla* is used to strike the demon at his neck with the shaft piercing in. *Mahiṣa* iconometrically is of a bigger proportion. He occupies a major part of the relief. He is found squatting and offering no resistence.

There are some stray pieces of Sapta Mātṛkas in the Kumāra- and Arka- Brahmā temples. We find a stray image of Devī seated on *nara-vāhana*, i.e., Cāmuṇḍā, and Varāhī in the latter temple.

Pāpanāseśvara Temple (Pl. XLI):

An image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī is *aṣṭabhuja* and stands in *ālīḍha* posture, having the left leg placed on the shoulder of a theriomorphic *mahiṣāsura*. The Goddess holds the horn of *mahiṣa* with the front left hand and bears a *triśūla* its trident striking the demon's back. She holds the *śaṅkha, dhanus, kheṭaka, khaḍga, cakra* and *bāṇa* in the other hands. Mahiṣa has a human body and buffalo head. The lion stands to the right. The stylistic effect in the carving is of a different order and may not be of the period under study. But thematically several such specimens are found and so its date is a problem for further investigation.

Alampūr Museum:

There are not less than seven images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pls. XXXIX.2, XL.1) of which five, illustrate the slaughter of zoomorphic or therioanthropic Mahiṣāsura. Three of them are *aṣṭabhuja* and two *caturbhuja*, holding the usual emblems. The lion is mostly absent and even if present stands inactive. One of the *caturbhuja* images is an exact replica of the type found in Cave I of Badāmī. The Goddess, holding the tail of the beast, strikes him with the *triśūla* upside down. Though a *bas relief*, the effect is of a round sculpture as we find in case of the Sapta Mātṛkas in Bāla-Brahmā temple. In one, a tiny Mahiṣāsura energes out of the beast's cut neck. The Goddess sends her *triśūla* upside down into his back. In two of the illustrations the Goddess is seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* attitude. The anthropomorphic form of the demon is thrown below whom she slays with the *triśūla*. In both Devī is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds the usual weapons while one of the hands holds the demon's tuft. The seventh image is that of a *sthānaka* type that we usually come across in Tamil Nadu (e.g. Ādivarāha temple at Māmallapuram, Ciṅkāvaram and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam caves). Devī (Pl.XL.2) stands *samabhaṅga* on the decapitated head of *mahiṣa*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. The front left hand is in *ūruhasta* attitude and the right holding a long *triśūla*. The theme relates to the final stage of the buffalo myth, after slaying whom the Goddess stands peacefully on his head as a victorious Mother. It was the custom in those times that victors in battles used to place their foot on the heads of the vanquished. So the Tamil epithet, *talaikoṇṭāṉ*[12] '(who) took the head', which several of the early Cōḻa kings of the Vijayālaya line took. The typology, typical of the Tamil country, fails to appear in Upper Deccan and the Badāmī circles. Its presence in Alampūr may point out the percolation of a Tamil idiom northwards. One is seated (Pl. XXXVIII.1).

There are few pieces of Sapta Mātṛkas. In one all the seven Mothers are present, excepting Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. They are seated uniformly in *lalitāsana* posture. The *vāhanas* of the goddesses are carved on the pedestal, which from the right to left are swan, bull, peacock, eagle, boar, elephant and jackal. On the basis the Mothers may be identified with Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā. Varāhī is sow-faced and Cāmuṇḍā appears with dishevelled hair but not emaciated. Another panel of the same typology with the same emblems is found in which the first two are missing. What is interesting in these two panels is that Cāmuṇḍā is associated with the jackal. So far we have come across the owl and corpse. Now a new element enters into the picture.

There are two *bas reliefs*, portraying Yoninilayā (Pl. XXXIX.1). In both the Mother is laid up in *pretāsana* posture with the genitals exposed.The breasts are full and the hips narrow. Intead of a human head, the lotus *appears*. The two hands are raised above and hold lotus flowers.

The Kṛṣṇā Delta

The Kṛṣṇā delta when compared with Alampūr is insignificant from the iconographical point of view though in both cases the patrons were the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi. The Vijayavāḍa caves, called Akkaṇṇa-Madaṇṇa, are practically devoid of Śakti images though few could have existed in those times. Today, the caves are much ruined and even the colossal piece of Gaṇapati presents a faded appearance.

K.V. Soundararajan is of the opinion that Cave I of Moghulrājapuram could have been dedicated to Durgā in a pattern we find in the Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram.[13] It is possible because in Cave IV an image of Siṁhavāhinī appears on the back wall of the *garbhagṛha*. In front of the cave to its left a miniature cave is found that has an image of Trimūrti on its cella like part and images of Gaṇapati and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, both miniatures about 2' in height, to the right and left respectively, facing each other. The kind of alignment, i.e., Gaṇapati and Mahiṣāsuramardinī juxtaposed, is popular in Ellora.

Cave III at Advisomanapaḷḷi, near Uṇḍavalli on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇā, an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, called Durgā by K.V. Soundararajan,[14] is housed in the *garbhagṛha*. It is a stele figure. She has the left leg in *kuñcita* attitude, having it placed on the decapitated head of a buffalo. The theme is basically Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Devī is *caturbhuja* and holds a long *triśūla* in the front right hand and has its shaft sent into *mahiṣa's* back. The beast is zoomorphic. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakaṭa, yajñopavīta, kucabandha* and other ornaments. The typology is closely akin to the Udayagiri prototypes, several of them which appear in Ellora and the Badāmī circles. What is unique in Advisomanapaḷḷi is its location and placement in the *garbhagṛha*. Being a stele we cannot be sure whether the installation was original though the sculpture on stylistic grounds shows its affinity with the Eastern Cāḷukyan school. If an original installation, it will be one of the outstanding specimen of the age to prove that Mahiṣāsuramardinī commanded *garbhagṛha* status and cult value. If so several of the caves in Ellora (for e.g. no. XIV) and temples in Aihole and Alampūr could be linked with Mahiṣāsuramardinī, spoken with reference to the stray pieces found there.

Bhairavakoṇḍa in the Peṉṉār (North) basin is an important centre of Eastern Cāḷukyan art whose donor was one Vikramāditya according to the local inscriptional evidence. It actually falls on the fringes of the Pallava-Cāḷukya empires and the iconographic programme of the caves shows a close relationship with those in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. Here, no image of Śakti lineage is to be found as there are strong evidences to believe that it should have been a centre of Kāpālika-Kālāmukha ascetics.[15] As in Paṭṭadakkal the male-superior ideology dominates the scene.Interestingly, the local oral tradition treats the image of Trimūrti as Bhairavī, the feminine countrpart of Bhairava after whom the hill is named. Moving southwards from Bhairavakoṇḍa, we pass into the Pallava zone of cave and structural temples in Tamil Nadu.

CONSOLIDATION

Totally 15 variables are traceable of which three are related themes. Aṣṭa Mātṛkas is a good example. Cāmuṇḍā, found independently in rare instances, could also be brought under the Mātṛkas. Similarly, Siṁhavāhinī is a sub-variable of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Devī standing upon the decapitated head of *mahiṣa* is another subvariable of the theme, making entry into the Deccan for the first time. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the Mātṛkas, Sarasvatī, Kālī, Yoninilāya, seated Devī and Cāmuṇḍā are common variables, also found in Upper Deccan. Naṭeśvarī and Yogīśvarī are typical of Lower Deccan. Naṭeśvarī though a miniature is one of the outstanding contributions of the Aihole artists.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī stands first in quantitative output and also distribution pattern. Nearly 50% of the images from Lower Deccan are on this subject. Next come the Mātṛkas. Yoninilayā gets the third place and the percentage is also higher when compared with Upper Deccan. Thematic variables go on multiplying, associating the subject with Tantric orgies. Lower Deccan seems to be the core zone of the cult. Though no specimen of the type is found enshrined in *garbhagṛha*, possibilities of temples dedicated to the Goddess in either Badāmī or Aihole could not be ruled out.

Though many of the images are displaced and the variables when compared with Upper Deccan (totally 14) lesser, the fact that Aihole and Alampūr were strong centres of the Śākta cult could not be disputed. Several of the typologies (e.g. Yoninilayā, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Naṭeśvarī, Yogīśvarī and so on) proclaim the World Mother aspect of the Goddess. She is the Goddess of Creation (e.g. Yoninilayā) and of Death (Cāmuṇḍā). Mahiṣāsuramardinī who stands on the buffalo head after rendition of the demon is the world nourisher who affords protection from evils and sorrow. And so, she is popularly called in the Tamil tradition Viṣṇu-Durgā whose male counterpart, Viṣṇu, is the God of Maintenance. Durgā is one who eradicates sorrows (*sarvaduḥkhasayaṅkarī, vide., Devīmāhātmyam, Pūrvabhāga*, I 7).

As far as Mahiṣāsuramardinī is concerned two different schools of iconic thought meet in Lower Deccan. One is the Udayagiri school that depicts the slaughter of zoomorphic *mahiṣa*. The variable appears in huge numbers as the Cāḷukyas had done a better job in Ellora. The second element is the fighting scene between Devī and an anthropomorphic Mahiṣāsura. It went as far as Ellora via Paṭṭadakkal. The third element, typical of the Far South, is the Victorious Mother, standing on the decapitated *mahiṣa*-head, who from the later Pallava period onwards occupies the left *koṣṭha* of structural temples (good examples are Takkōlam and Tiruttaṇi). The form appears in caves of the age in Tamil Nadu (examples being Ciṅkāvaram, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, Kuṉṉakkuṭi and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam). The presence of the element in Alampūr would earmark the second wave of ideological inflow from the Tamil plains to the Karṇāṭaka highlands.

In the lower Kṛṣṇā valley there are few temples dedicated to Śakti goddesses. Adviṣomanapaḷḷi is a good example which stands on a par with Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam for housing an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in *garbhagṛha*. The absence of any such living temple in the core Cāḷukyan zone like Badāmī and Aihole is an enigmatic phenomenon. Maybe when the Vīraśaivas were active in those areas, the original temples dedicated to Devīs were disturbed, the images cast away and the temples converted into Śaiva ones.

The presence of Yoninilayā, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Yogīśvarī in huge numbers in the museum collections of Badāmī, Aihole, Alampūr and Mahākūṭa would point out that some of them could have occupied the *garbhagṛha* in those times. Especially, the cavalcade of temples within a single wall (e.g. Kontguḍi, Lad Khan and those in front of Meghūti) in Aihole would mean that one of them should have been meant for Devī. In the Kont-*guḍi* the temple with two Mahiṣāsuramardinī images on its frontal wall section should have been meant for Devī. Fanatical activities of Śaiva cultists in later ages have completely wiped out the original traces of Cāḷukyan cult tradition in places like Aihole and Alampūr.

The fact why in Paṭṭadakkal and Bhairavakoṇḍa no Śakti images are found? is relevant in the context of the displaced and broken images of the goddesses in Ellora, Badāmī, Aihole and Alampūr. It could be explained in relation to the prevalence of a group of Śaiva adherents who adored Śiva as a preeminent God. The myth relating to

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF ICONOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES: LOWER DECCAN

Variables	Distribution pattern: place-wise						
	Badāmī	Mahā-kuṭa	Paṭṭa-dakkal	Aihole	Aḷam-pūr	Kṛṣṇā basin	Total
Mahiṣāsuramardinī	4	3	3	6	11	1	28
Siṁhavāhinī	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sapta Mātṛkas	2	-	-	7	4	-	13
Aṣṭa Mātṛkas	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Sarasvatī	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Kālī	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Yoninilayā	1	1	-	2	2	-	6
Āsana-Devī	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Cāmuṇḍā (independeant)	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Naṭeśvarī	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Yogīśvarī	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Kumārasaṁbhava	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Total	8	7	4	21	18	2	60

Note: 1. Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Siṁhavāhinī appear in *garbhagṛhas*.
2. Miniatures of Gajalakṣmīs appearing in Cave II of Badāmī and several of the structural temples in Aihole are not taken into account.

Bhṛṅgi who pierced through the male half of Ardhanārī to adore the male part only may be of some relevance in the context. The historical development of Śākta cult could have been another factor in question. The Śākta tradition survived to exist through the ages while Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had to face reverses during the Kaḷabhra period. The *bhakti* revivalism, which provided incentives for propagation of these two sects is likely to have viewed all others, including the Śāktas in addition to Jains and Buddhists, as rivals as they themselves were competing with one another. Paṭṭadakkal and Bhairavakoṇḍa were the strongholds of these fanatical Śaiva cultists. At a time when Śaivism was at its highest tide, they are likely to have indulged in breaking the idols of gods of other lineage.[16] Badāmī, Mahākūṭa, Aihole, Alampūr and even Ellora have lost evidences of temples originally dedicated to Śakti goddesses.

Quantitatively speaking, variables and specimens on the subject are almost equal in Upper and Lower Deccan. The River Goddesses who receive an important place in the Upper Deccani tradition fail to receive any emphasis in Lower Deccan. It maybe due to the direct influence that the Upper Deccan felt from the North.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. S. Settar who is of view that the Śrīvaiṣṇava ideology had its interaction with Vaiṣṇava mysticism in Karṇāṭaka during the pre-Rāmānuja period. *Vide*, S. Settar, From Vaiṣṇavism to Śrīvaiṣṇavism: A Study of Śrīvaiṣṇava Settlements of pre-Rāmānuja Era in Karṇāṭaka, eds. Ratan Parimco *et. al. Vaiṣṇavism in Indian Arts and Culture*, pp. 73-118. The Śrīvaiṣṇava ideology was a germinating factor during the pre-Rāmānuja period in Tamil Nadu and its impact on artistic works is clearly discernible. For proof see Raju Kalidos, "The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Cave Temples", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, 1988, pp. 66, 68n.
2. Gajalakṣmī appearing in *pralambapāda* attitude is a typical Pallava idiom. The earliest specimen appears in the *Varāha-maṇḍapa* at Māmallapuram (*infra* ch. IV) and more number of pieces are to be found in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. The Badāmī miniature is the only one of its kind in the Cāḷukyan artistic zone and may serve to point out the Pallava interaction with iconographical concepts of the Deccan.
3. The zoomorphic Mahiṣa, trampled by Devī and slaughtered, as a typological variable appears in cave temples of Udayagiri for the first time. The model has had a tremendous impact over the Ellora artists. Its southern infiltration is upto Badāmī of which a classical piece is in Cave I. The zoomorphic Mahiṣa gets transformed into a partly human form at Māmallapuram (Mahiṣāsuramardinī cave) and acquired a full-fledged shape in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave in Tamil Nadu. The representation has its impact over the Ellora artist (e.g. the fighting scene behind the *façade* section of Kailāsa) and moves to Bhokardān. The Cāḷukyas seem to have appropriated both the idioms of which the synthesis is admirably pointed out by the piece under review. It is a good example for cross cultural study. We may note here that the slaughter type of Udayagiri has no parallel in Tamil Nadu. *Vide*, Raju Kalidos, "Iconography

of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, 1989, pp. 16-18; "The Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi Cave Temples", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, 1988, pp. 62-3.

4. Raju Kalidos, "Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, pp. 7-48.
5. G.M. Tartakov & V. Dehejia, "Sharing, Instrusion, and Influence: the Mahiṣāsuramardinī Imagery of the Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XLV, 1984, pp. 287-344; C. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migration in South India and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 3; M. Seshadri, "Mahiṣāsuramardinī; Images, Iconography and Interpretation", *The Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1961, pp. 19-21.
6. For a detailed analysis of the typological variables see Raju Kalidos, "Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art", *East and West*, Vol. 40: 1-4, 1990, pp. 115-43.
7. There is reason to link the erotic motifs with Yoninilayā images. Quantitatively, Aihole takes the place of priority in respect of the cult order. The Tantric origins in Śākta cult tradition are to be found in Aihole from where the ideas percolate into Ellora (Kailāsa and Cave XXI) by way of Badāmī (Cave III) wherein *mithuna* motifs abound in.
8. Naṭeśvarī as the Cosmic Dancer would assume the *pañcakṛtyas*, being the feminine counterpart of Naṭarāja. The Cosmic personality of Devī, which other forms like Yoninilayā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī purport to proclaim is affirmed by Naṭeśvarī.
9. Like the Pallava artists who gave a classical shape to Bhāravi's *Kiratārjuniyam* that portrays the duel between Kirāta-Śiva and Arjuna in the Kailāsa of Kāñci, the Cāḷukyas have adopted the present theme from Kālidāsa's epic for an outstanding artisitc piece. Had the image been *in situ* as in the case of the Māmallapuram *bas relief*, it would have been of great value to visualise its significance *vis-à-vis* the programme in a temple.
10. Today a musical instrument (called *caṇḍi* in Tamil - does it have anything to do with Caṇḍikā), used during funeral processions, is kept close to the image. It is to associate the Goddess with burial-ground. Cāmuṇḍā means 'Lady of Death' or who sounds the death-knell of evil-mongers. If Yoninilayā is the Mother in charge of Birth, Cāmuṇḍā is in charge of Death. Life and Death are recurrning processes and a philosopher finds no difference between the two as one leads to the other in an endless cyclic process of cosmic events. Even Brahmā could be created and destroyed at the end of a cosmic age. In rural festivals in Tamil Nadu the *caṅku* (Skt. *saṅkha*) is blown and the *caṇḍi* sounded to announce the declaration of a festival. Both these instruments are connected with obsequies in Tamil Nadu. Their link with a festival of the God or Goddess is highly suggestive.
11. The Kailāsa of Kāñci is *sāndhāra*. But the *sāndhāra* passage is blocked by stone curtains. Below there are small openings to crawl in and come out. Perhaps, the block was added at a later time.
12. The great Cōḻa Emperor, Rajēndra I (11th century A.D.) took the title *Muṭikoṇṭacōḻa. Muṭi* means both 'head' and 'crown'. The pun in respect of the epithet is that the victor conquers the vanquished first, places his foot on the latter's head, and assumes the sovereign power of his kingdom by taking the Crown. Maturai when conquered by the Cōḻas was renamed as *Muṭittalaikkoṇṭacōḻapuram*. *vide*, K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, pp. 227, 382. Sundaracōḻa's son Āditya Karikāla in the late 10th century A.D. is said to have defeated the Pāṇḍya and took

the title *Pāṇḍiyarmuṭittalaikoṇṭaruḷiya* according to the Uṭayārpāḷayam inscription. *vide*, Raju Kalidos, *History and Culture of the Tamils*, p. 167.

13. K.V. Soundararajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, p. 258.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-7.
15. Raju Kalidos, "Subcontinental Cross Currents of Artistic and Religious Interaction: the Bhairavakoṇḍa Cave Temples", *Pañchāla*, Vol. 8, pp. 111-16.
16. At Tirumeyyam there are inscripltional evidences to prove mutual destrution of temples by Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. *Vide*, R.K.K. Rajarajan, *Art of the Vijayanagara Nayakas: Architecture and Icono-graphy*, Delhi, 2006.

CHAPTER IV

Iconographical Survey: The Far South

From Māmallapuram in northern Tamil Nadu to Kaḻugumalai in the deep south, there are a number of places wherein images of Śakti goddesses are found. The caves in Kerala are iconographically not promising and that too from the Śakti point of view, they are practically devoid of any. The rock-cut art in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam is divided in to two phases by K.R. Srinivasan even in its incipient stage of development.[1] Among these two subsequent phases, the second alone yields icons of Śakti lineage and not the first. The first group of these caves consist of Maṇṭakapaṭṭu, Pallāvaram, Māmaṇṭūr (nos. I & II), Kuṟaṅkanilmuṭṭam, Vallam (no. I), Makēntravāṭi, Talavaṉūr, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi (upper), Ciyamaṅkalam, Viḻappākkam and Arakaṇṭanallūr. Among them Vallam Cave I is an exception as we find a dilapidated image of Jyeṣṭhā at the *façade* level, being juxtaposed to Gaṇapati. In the Far South a study of Śakti imagery begins with the Jyeṣṭhā of Vallam, near Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam. A number of other caves in Māmallapuram house images of the Śakti goddesses. These, in addition to those found in the structural temples of Kāñcīpuram, Takkōlam, Tiruttaṇi and other places, provide a good field to delve deep into the facets of Śakti iconography in the Far South.

MĀMALLAPURAM

The three groups of temples consist of rock-cut caves, monoliths and structural temples (Pl. VIII.1). The structural temples (Shore, Olakkaneśvara and Mukunda-Nāyaṉār) do not accommodate Devī images. Others include a number of specimens. Besides, there are some stray pieces of Sapta Mātṛkas. Important for Śakti iconography are Varāha-*maṇḍapa*, Mahāvarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha*, Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa*, Atiranacaṇḍa-*maṇḍapa*, Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* and Draupadī-*ratha*.

Trimūrti-maṇḍapa:

The cave in tricellar cave houses images of Trimūrtis while the *koṣṭha* at the left extremity houses Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. XLVII.2) who stands upon the decapitated buffalo head. Devī is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *khaḍga*, *dhanus*, *ghaṇṭa* and *kheṭaka*. She has the front right hand in *abhaya* and left in *ūruhasta* attitude. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas, kucabandha, cannavīra* and *uttarīya*. Devī stands erect with no flexion as we come across in Takkōlam and Ciṅkāvaram. The niche, housing the Goddess, is provided with a *makaratoraṇa* and the entire relief about a feet burried deep into the rocky mass. A flight of steps is provided, resembling the doorway in *garbhagṛhas*. There is every reason to treat it a hypaethral temple. If viewed in the context, the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* complex consists of four and not three temples as it is believed to be.

Varāha-maṇḍapa:

The *maṇḍapa* part of the cave in its back wall houses images of Gajalakṣmī (right) and Durgā (left).

Gajalakṣmī (Pl. XLVIII.1) is life-size with Devī seated on a *padmāsana* in *pralambapāda* attitude. She is *dvibhuja* and holds them in *kaṭakamudrā* attitude, an allegory for holding *padmas*. She wears a cap-like conical *makuṭa, cannavīra* and anklets. Two huge elephants stand behind Devī, the left one holding an inverted pot in the act of pouring the *abhiṣeka* water upon the Goddess. Devī is attended by two ladies each on either side, two of them holding *pūrṇakuṁbhas*. These women appear to be nude or wearing a transparent loin cloth. They have few ornaments like *patrakuṇḍalas* but wear no *kucabandhas*. Recently they have been identified with the River Goddesses.[2]

Durgā (Pl. XLVII.1) is standing *samabhaṅga* who is posted on a *padmapīṭha*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in *parahastas*. The front right is in *abhaya* and left in *ūruhastas*. She wears *patrakuṇḍalas, kucabandha* and other ornaments, including a tall *makuṭa*. Devī's head is overshadowed by a *catrāvali*. The top section of the panel is represented by a lion (right) and antelope (left). The lion is the vehicle of the Goddess and in Tamil texts (e.g. *Cilappatikāram*) *kalai* 'antelope' is said to be her vehicle and so the name, Kalaiyamarcelvi (cf. Skt. *mṛgavāhinī*). The antelope is a novel idiom found in Māmallapuram and its peripheral zone. Its presence in Toṇḍaināḍu would point out the regional variation of the theme for which the statutory provision is found in Tamil literature. Two dwarf *gaṇas* each appear on either side of Devī at the middle portion of the relief, flying like *vidyādharas* and attending on Devī. Below there are two human beings, one praising the Goddess and worshipping her while the other is engaged in cutting his own head for an offering. The ritual element appears in several illustrations in Tamil Nadu of which a rare piece was spotted in Paṭṭadakkal. The ritual offering, called *navakaṇṭham*, is noted in the *Cilappatikāram*. Tamil texts call the Goddess Koṟṟavai.

Durgā of Varāha-*maṇḍapa* is an interesting corolary to the type of Mahiṣāsuramardinī found in the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*. The only difference is that in the former she stands on a *padmapīṭha* and not *mahiṣapīṭha*. But the association of the typology with Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a point for consideration because in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave, the Goddess stands on a *padmapīṭha* even while engaged in fighting with Mahiṣāsura. The point has already been examined to establish the links between the two types as variations of the same subject.[3]

Mahiṣāsuramardinī-maṇḍapa:

The tricellar cave temple is one of the outstanding in the entire range of early medieval art, famous for its two image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Viṣṇu-Śeṣaśāyī. Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. LII) is carved on the left side wall and occupies an area of 7 x 13 feet. The plastic and pictorial qualities of Pallava artist finds a free lance expression in the most illustrious piece of Indian art, never excelled and much less surpassed by any of the contemporary art-guilds, working in Badāmī (Caves I & III) and Ellora (Caves XIV & XVI). Rhythmic, dynamic and dramatic, the piece gives a visual expression to the heroic exploits of the Goddess as retold in ritual books like the *Devīmahātmyam*. Inspired by its classical qualities, several contemporary schools in Paṭṭadakkal, Ellora and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi attempted to imitate the original but none challenge comparison with the masterpiece. Undoubtedly, it is the pride of South Indian plastic art and its uniqueness cuts across the barriers of time, space and territory.

Devī is found astride her *siṁhavāhana* and engaged in a tough battle with Mahiṣāsura. She is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds the *bāṇa* and *dhanus* in *pūrvahastas*, mounted ready for *prayoga*. Two of the additional hands bear the *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. The remaining four hands hold the sword, bell, dagger and noose. Devī is attended by a host of dwarf *gaṇas* who hold weapons of one kind or the other and are engaged in fighting with the demonic army. The lion is pouncing, rather prancing. Mahiṣāsura is anthropomorphic, with a human torso and buffalo-head. He holds a *gadā* in both hands, ready to fight with Devī. He stands in *ālīḍha* posture and wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, uttarīya*, short loin cloth and necklace. An attendant is present who holds an umbrella above Mahiṣa's head. Mahiṣāsura's aides are found falling, fighting or in flight. Thematically, it is one of the outstanding pieces that strives to expose the virulence of demonic power. Though Mahiṣāsura is losing the battle, he is full of vigour, undaunted and audacious. Devī she is victoriously penetrating into the demon's camp.

The juxtaposition of Śeṣaśāyī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī is of some importance if viewed from the philosophical point of view. Devī is supposed to have helped Viṣṇu as Yoga-Māyā when Madhu and Kaiṭabha challenged him while asleep. Brahmā was frightened by the belligerency, posed by the demons and invoked the Mother in consternation who not only enabled Viṣṇu to do away with Madhu-Kaiṭabha but herself wiped out the remaining horde of demons like Śuṁbha, Niśuṁbha, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Raktabīja and Mahiṣāsura. Scholars aptly suggest that the corelation of Śeṣaśāyī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a thematic representation of the myth as appearing in *Devīmahātmyam*.[4]

Ādivarāha Cave:

The Parameśvara-Mahāvarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* houses two image of Gajalakṣmī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Gajalakṣmī is of the same typology as found in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*.

Gajalakṣmī is seated on the pericarp of a flower in *pralambapāda* attitude. The suspended legs are rested on the petals of a lotus, it seems. Devī is *dvibhuja* and holds them in *kaṭakamudrā* with the *padmas*. She wears a conical *makuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas, cannavīra* and other usual ornaments. As in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* piece, she appears to wear a transparent garment that provides the effect of nudity. Two huge elephants appear behind Devī. Of them the right one (instead of the left as in Varāha-*maṇḍapa*) holds an inverted pot, doing *abhiṣeka*. Two ladies each stand on either side of Devī in the same pattern as we find in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa*. They are nude, two of them holding *pūrṇakuṁbhas*, wear ornate headgears and *patrakuṇḍalas*.[5]

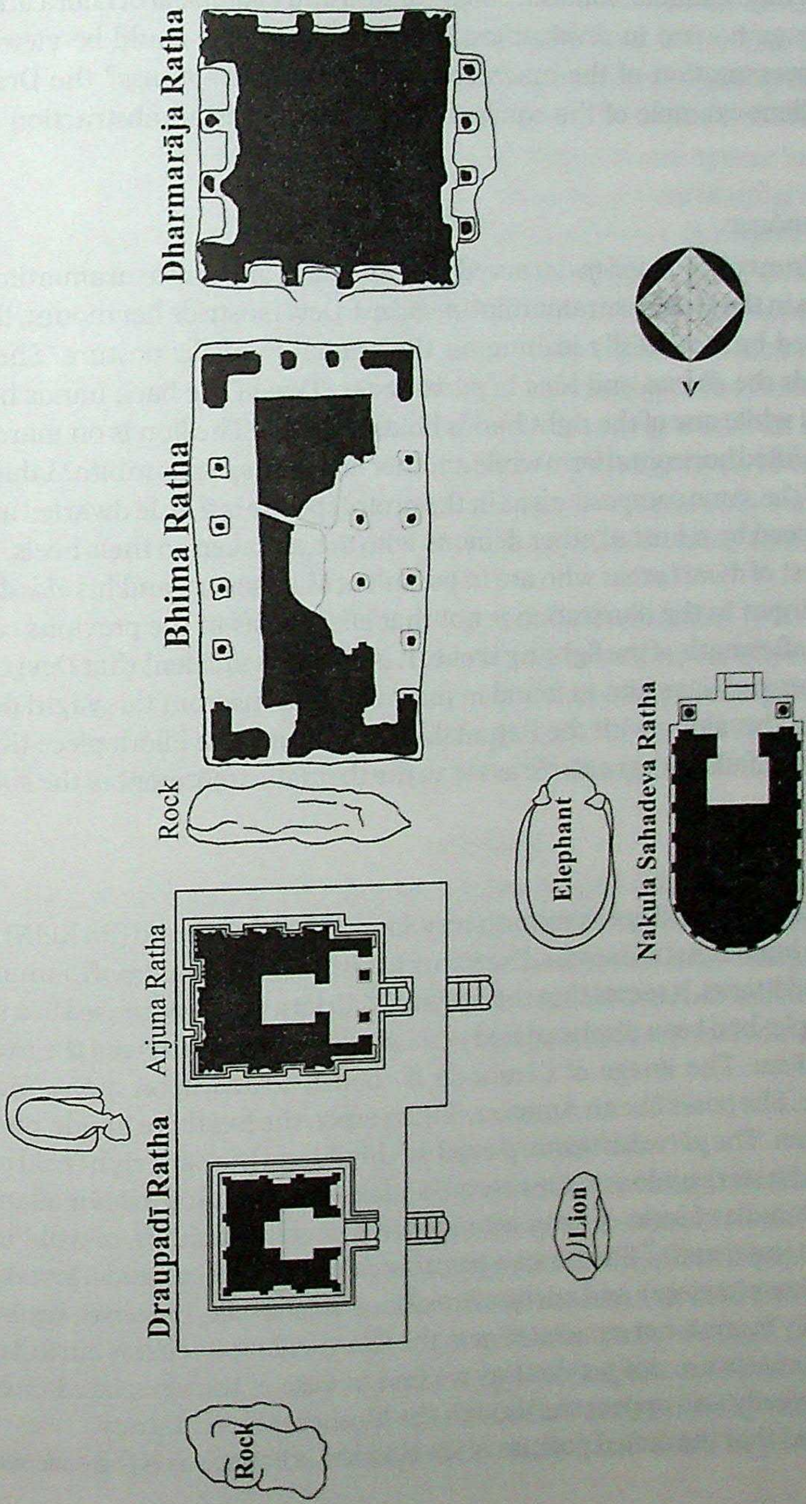
Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. LI) deviates from the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* model, being *atibhaṅga*, the latter is *samabhaṅga*. Devī stands on the *mahiṣapīṭha* and is *aṣṭabhuja*. She bears the *śaṅkha, kheṭaka, dhanus, ghaṇṭa, khaḍga* and *cakra* in six of the hands while the front left is in *ūruhasta* and right held close to the genital. Devī wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas, kucabandha* and other ornaments, including anklets. In addition to two dwarf *gaṇas*, motifs of lion and antelope appear atop the panel. It is an idiom associated with the Durgā of Varāha-*maṇḍapa* but fails to appear in case of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*. It goes without saying that both forms according to the *Cilappatikāram* are to be called *kalaiyamarcelvi*. Devī is attended by two women, one holding a *dhanus* by virtue of which emblem they may be supposed to be her aide in the war with Mahiṣāsura whom she had already slaughtered and stands upon his decapitated head. Two more male beings are found kneeling close to Devī, both offering *añjali*.

Draupadī-Ratha (Pl. XLIII, Plan 2):

The hut-shaped monolithic temple houses Durgā (Pl. L) in the cella while the *dvāra* is guarded by *dvārapālikās*, found in separate niches, both connected by a *makaratoraṇa* as in the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* relief. The three sides of *bhiṭṭi* 'wall' consist of three *devakoṣṭhas* in which images of *sthānaka*-Devī appear.

All four images of Devī are *samapāda-sthānaka* and *caturbhuja*. Excepting one housed in the cella, all others are incomplete in one way or the other. The *mūlabera* holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. The front left is *ūruhasta* and the right in *abhayamudrā*. Devī wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, patrakundalas, mālās, kucabandha* and a flowery loin cloth with *puñjams*. Two dwarf *gaṇas* appear atop the panel on either sides. Two devotees are found below of whom the right one is engaged in offering *navakaṇṭham* while the left offers *añjali*. Devī stands on a *padmapiṭha* and thus the image falls in line with the Durgā of Varāha-*maṇḍapa*. The three other images appearing on *koṣṭhas* are of similar composition but devoid of attendants. All are different forms of Durgā.

The architectural features of the *ratha* and the iconographic programme are unique in the entire range of early medieval monolithic temples. We have not less than nine, including Gaṇeśa-*ratha*, in Māmallapuram but in none of them or as far the matter the


Dharmarāja Ratha
Bhima Ratha
V
Rock
Arjuna Ratha
Draupadī Ratha
Rock
Elephant
Lion
Nakula Sahadeva Ratha

2. The Five *Rathas*: Mamallapuram

Veṭṭuvāṉkōyil of Kaḻukumalai, Kailāsa, *Choṭa*-Kailāsa and *Caumukha* of Ellora are deities of the same lineage housed in *devakoṣṭhas*. If the Hindu temple could be viewed as a microcosmic representation of the macrocosmic Virāṭ-(vāstu)-*puruṣa*[6] the Draupadī-*ratha* is an excellent example of the concept.[7] The monolith is an abstraction of Devī Herself.[8]

Atiranacaṇḍa-maṇḍapa:

A boulder in front of the *maṇḍapa* is carved with an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the type that appears in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa*. Devī is astride her mount, the lion, not exactly seated but gracefully leaning on the animal in *ālīḍha* posture. She is six-handed and holds the *dhanus* and *bāṇa* in *pūrvahastas*. Two of the back hands hold the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* while one of the right hands holds a *khaḍga*. The lion is on march with one of its forelegs lifted horizontal form while another little lion springs to bite Mahiṣāsura. Mahiṣāsura is of the same composition as in the prototype. He is a little dwarfed and is in flight. He is followed by a host of other demons who are all taken to their heels. Devī is attended by a host of dwarf *gaṇas* who are in pursuit of Mahiṣāsura and his *aide de camp*.

The stylistic input in the illustration is not that effective as in the previous case but thematically an aftermath of the fighting scene. It is after this incident that Devī catches hold of the demon and slays him as found in most illustrations from Udayagiri down to Badāmī (Cave I). This along with the Paṭṭadakkal miniature, the Ellora piece (Kailāsa) and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi falls within a circle as far as the thematic treatment of the subject is concerned.

Stray Pieces:

In the Māmallapuram village a group of stray Sapta Mātṛkas is found (Pl. XLIX). There are eight of them but not Aṣṭa Mātṛkas. Excepting a tall (height 7') image of Cāmuṇḍā, all others are later additions. It seems that the original Mātṛkas, perhaps housed in a section of the Shore temple, had been displaced and of them only one has survived the ravage of time and vandalism. The image of Cāmuṇḍā is robust, seated upon a *bhadrāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. She poses like an Amazon. Sitting erect, she has three hands, one of the right hands broken. The *pūrvahastas* are placed on thighs and the back right held close to the shoulder. Devī is stark nude as in the case of Gajalakṣmīs appearing in Māmallapuram. She has a thick bundle of locks of hair, arranged in a peculiar fashion, of what may be called *jaṭāmakuṭa* (*caṭaimuṭi*).[9] She wears a *patrakuṇḍala* in the left ear and a *pretakuṇḍala* in right (cf. the Alampūr piece); and an *ekāvali* necklace, *kapālamālā*, *kaṅkanas*, *keyūras* and anklets. The bodily frame is not emaciated as in the Ellora-Alampūr circles but full of flesh and blood. The breasts are not pendant as we find in case of the emaciated ones. The countenance is greedy and appears as though the Mother is blood-thirsty.

It may be noted that the seated posture of the Goddess is bizzare as is the case with the

Gajalakṣmīs of Māmallapuram. There is a kind of attraction towards the *yoni* spot, especially when the Gajalakṣmīs are *pralambapāda* and nude. The legs have been arranged in a particular mode with the deliberate motive of exposing the *yoni* symbol as a kind of corolary to the Yoninilayā images of Ellora and the Badāmī-Alampūr circles. It is understood in view of the fact that Yoninilayā images do not appear in the Far South. An image of Jyeṣṭhā found in Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam group of cave temples is in the same kind of *pralambapāda* attitude as the Māmallapuram Gajalakṣmī. In respect of these images an iconometric division of the frame into three integral parts could possibly be attempted with reference to certain epithets in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*. The text speaks of *vāgbhavakuṭa*, *madhyakuṭa* and *śaktikuṭa*, parts in the physical form of Devī, which represent her face, torso and lower part (below hip) respectively.[10] According to the *Pañcadaśīmatra*[11] these three constitute the Virāṭśakti. The image under review provides an excellent scope for application of the concept and what we find below the hip level, so well exposed in the image, is the *śaktikuṭa* or the *yoni* spot of Yoninilayā. Symbolically the Tamil artists had found an alternative to the type of Yoninilayā images that we come across in Ellora, Badāmī, Aihole and Alampūr.[12]

A stray piece is that of a miniature of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pls. XLV-XLVI) of the fighting type, which finds a place in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa*, appearing within the mouth part of a free standing lion in the Shore temple complex.[13] There are few incomplete excavations in *yāḷīmaṇḍapa* group (Pls. I, XLIV) and stray carvings (Pl. XLVIII.2). The *Koṭikāl-maṇḍapa* is guarded by *dvārapālikas* (Plan 3).

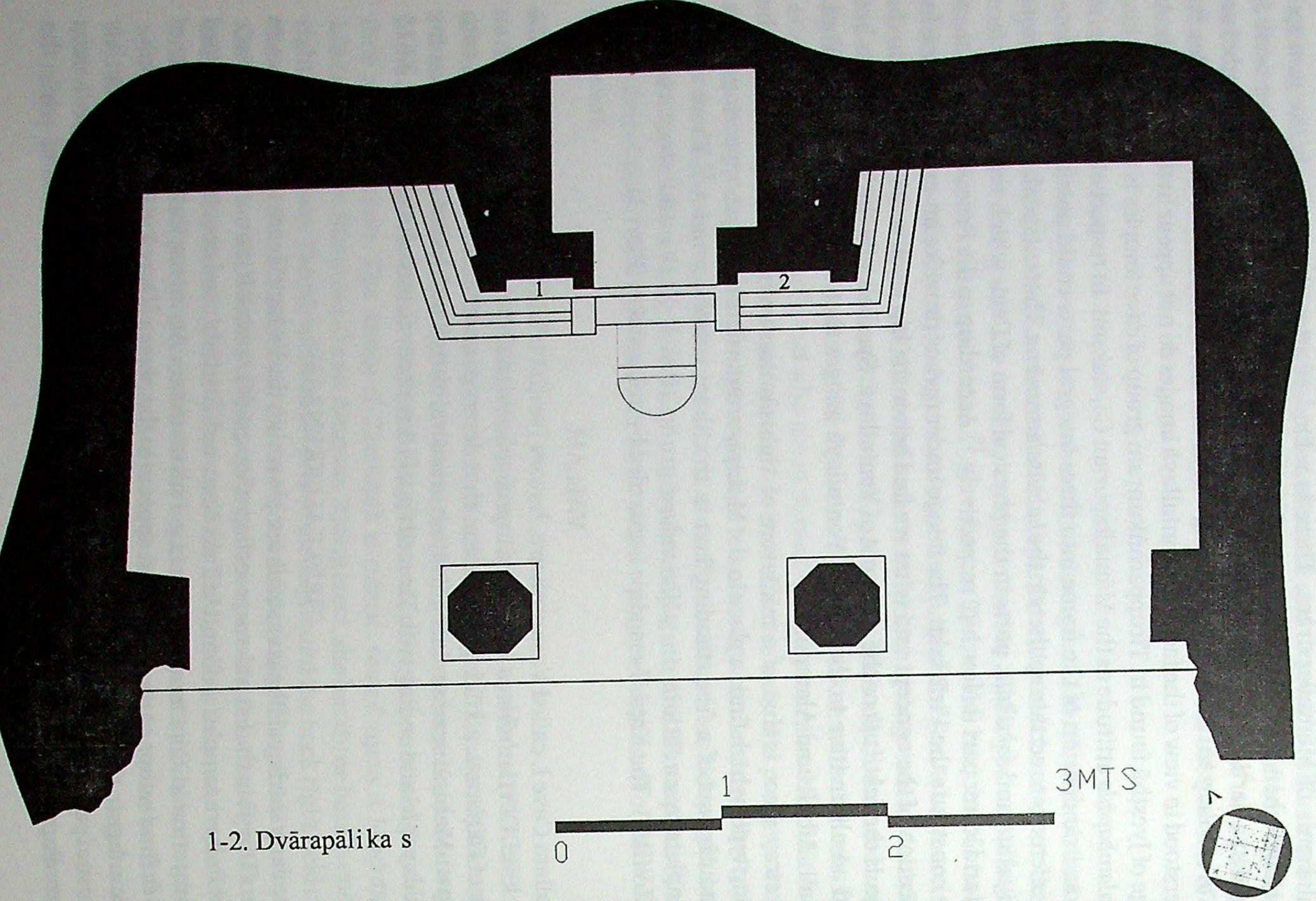
VALLAM

Vallam Cave I, called Vasanteśvara, houses Jyeṣṭhā (Pl. LXI.3) in its left niche at the *façade* level. Devī is *dvibhuja* and seated in *pralambapāda* attitude. She is juxtaposed with an image of Gaṇapati, a kind of parallelism that deserves an interesting comparison with Gaṇapati-Mahiṣāsuramardinī equivation in several of the South Indian caves, beginning with Udayagiri and ending with Tiruccirāppaḷḷi (lower cave), including Ellora (e.g. XVI & XVII).

TIRUKKAḺUKKUṈṞAM

The early medieval Bhaktavatsala temple within the Vedagirīśvara temple houses an image of Durgā in the left *pādavarga* section of its apsidal *vimāna*. It is a norm characteristic of later Pallava temples as found in Takkōlam and Tiruttaṇi, and acquires a stereotyped representation in Cōḷa temples later (e.g. Pullamaṅkai). An interesting development of the later time is that at times Brahmā appears in the place of Durgā (e.g. Tārācuram).

The image in the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam temple is *samapāda-sthānaka* and *caturbhuja*. It is in the usual pattern, a trend which begins with the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram. The Goddess holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas* while the



1-2. Dvārapālikas

3. Plan, *Koṭikālmaṇḍapa*, Māmallapuram

pūrvahastas exhibit *abhayamudrā* and *ūruhasta*. Usually, in the later representations, the attendants are found missing and Devī appears all alone. The *navakaṇṭham* motif fails to appear in later temples.

KĀÑCĪPURAM

Of the half a dozen Pallava temples, the Kailāsanātha houses a number of images of Śakti goddesses. The temple, consisting of the integral sections in its layout, viz., the original Rājasiṁheśvara built by Nṛsiṁhavarmaṉ II Rājasiṁha and the frontal adjunct, called Mahēndravarmeśvara, added by Mahēndravarmaṉ III. Apart from them the Mātaṅgeśvara, Mukteśvara, Iṟavātaneśvara and Airāvateśvara temples lodge images of Devī in their *pādavarga* sporadically.

Kailāsanātha Temple:

As one enters the temple through the main gateway, he is (Pl. VI.1) in the courtyard of the Mahēndravarmeśvara. The wall sourrounding the *garbhagṛha* in its inner section houses iconographical specimen. Noted among them are two Gajalakṣmīs (Pl. LIV.1) and one of Siṁhavāhinī. Gajalakṣmīs appear like *dvārapālikās*, fixed at the entry point to the doorways that the part of the temple is provided with. There are four such doorways in addition to the eastern main gateway, fitted with a prototype of *gopura*. Two more *dvāras* guide the visitor out of the temple northward and southward. The northern *dvāra* is subjoined by an image of Gajalakṣmī. From Mahēndravarmeśvara one makes an entry into the Rājasiṁheśvara through a small doorway in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern to come around in the left to right pattern as one stands facing the temple. At this point the image of Siṁhavāhinī appears. Having moved around the Rājasiṁheśvara, one emerges out of the inner courtyard through another doorway and finds himself in Mahēndravarmeśvara. The doorway is guarded by an image of Gajalakṣmī. In addition to these three important Devī images, two of the *koṣṭhas* (actually *devakuḷikas*) fitted with the *tirumatil* 'wall' in the courtyard house images of Viṣṇu and Brahmā who are accompanied by their Devīs. Normally in Upper and Lower Deccan either Viṣṇu or Brahmā, if seated, appear all alone; e.g. Badāmī Cave III in case of Viṣṇu and Ellora XVI in case of Brahmā. Viṣṇu and Brahmā appearing with their Devīs is an important phenomenon in the Kailāsa of Kāñci.

Gajalakṣmīs of Mahēndravarmeśvara are seated on *padmāsana* in *pralambapāda* attitude. The knees are widened to the maximum degree so as to form a square that makes the *yoni* part (of what the *Lalitāsahasranāma* calls *śaktikuṭa*) visible. Devī is *dvibhuja* and holds buds of lotus. She wears a cap-like headgear and other ornaments like *yajñopavita*, *mekhala* and anklets. The *padmapīṭha* in which Devī is seated has a peculiar form. It is like a modern chair, its pericarp blossomed. Devī's feet are rested on a leaf of the plant. Below, the stalk of the lotus two buds appear. The motif is an interesting corollary to the kind of representation in Buddhist art or few of the Hindu representations in Elephanta and Ellora (e.g. Yogīśvara of Elephanta and Caṇḍikeśvara of Ellora XXIX) in which the *padmapīṭhas* are supported by *nāgas* and *nāginīs* who hold the stalk. Above the panel two lions appear with their mouths open and lifted above. Actually these appear to be *vyālas*.

The programme of Gajalakṣmīs in the Mahēndravarmeśvara is of some interest to point out the cross cultural exchange of artistic idioms from Ellora in the west to Kāñcīpuram in the south. The exposture of the *yoni* symbol is an outspoken evidence to pin-point the Yoninilayā aspect of the Goddess. While in the case of *Padmavaktrakā-yoninilayā* images of Badāmī-Alampūr there is no direct evidence to link the types with representations of the Goddess tradition; images of Gajalakṣmī, Cāmuṇḍā and Jyeṣṭhā (Pl. LIV.2) in the Far South provide definitive clues. The *Padmavaktrakā* of Upper and Lower Deccan and images of the type in the Far South are Yoninilayās in cognito. The symbol is again pointed out by the fact that they appear guarding the *dvāras* by virtue of which they are Dvāravāsinīs. The kind of Tantric alignment found in case of Cave XXI at Ellora and some of the structural temples in Aihole find their southern redaction in the Kailāsa of Kāñci.

Siṁhavāhinī (Pls. LVI-LVIII) of Mahēndravarmeśvara is a good illustration on the subject and is thematically better cast when compared with specimens in Ellora (e.g. Cave XIV). Devī is seated in *vīrāsana* attitude on a moving lion. It seems that the Goddess after assuming the qualities of all gods and goddesses is marching toward the battlefield to meet Mahiṣāsura.[14] Devī is sixteen-handed and holds various weapons like the *cakra, śaṅkha, triśūla, dhanus* and *bāṇa*. Some of the hands exhibit *mudrās* like *sūci, viśmaya, kaṭaka* and *kartari*. Devī wears all kinds of ornaments, *sakalābharaṇa*, and is fitted with a conical *makuṭa* in the typical Pallava pattern. Above the head a *catrāvali* is provided.

The *devakuḷikas* (model shrines) in the inner courtyard of Rājasiṁheśvara house a cavalcade of iconographical typologies, mostly bearing on themes related to Śiva and at times Viṣṇu and Devī. The fifth *devakulika* as we proceed in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern houses an image of Siṁhavāhinī. Devī stands in *atibhaṅga* posture as though *ālīḍha* and has the left leg lifted and placed on the lion's back. She is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds a *dhanus* in front left hand. The corresponding right hand is in *kaṭakamudrā* attitude. One of the left hands holds a *śaṅkha*, tied to a strap, and suspended. The hand is in *tarjanīmudrā*. Of the right hands one holds a *cakra* and another is in *ūruhasta*. The top left hand holds a legible but unidentifiable object.[15] The corresponding right hand holds a *khaḍga* and so it could be a *kheṭaka*.[16] A parrot is seated on the lifted knee (*infra*). Devī wears a conical *makuṭa*, necklaces, *uttarīya* and other ornaments. The lion cloth appears to be shorts, tightly tucked to the thighs.

The 17th *devakuḷika* houses an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī who is seated on a *bhadrāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. She is *aṣṭabhuja* and has the left leg pendant and placed on the head of *mahiṣa*. The hands bear the *śaṅkha, paraśu, nāga, dhanus, khaḍga, triśūla* and *cakra*. Devī, appearing in seated posture, is the only one of its kind, which shows the development over the kind of *sthānaka* images in the Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha*, Takkōlam, Tiruttaṇi, Ciṅkāvaram, Tirucci and Kuṉṉakkuṭi. It adds one more variable to the subject (*infra*).

The 18th *devakuḷika* houses Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. LIII). All of them are seated on a common *bhadrāsana* in different postures. Starting from the right end the Mātṛkas are Brahmī, Aindrī, Maheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Kaumāri and Cāmuṇḍā. Brahmī is seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*, the sow-faced *Varāhī* in *vīrāsana* and most others in *lalitāsana*. Brahmī is polycephalous, Aindrī holds a *vajra*, Maheśvarī and Cāmuṇḍā *triśūla* (the latter with dishevelled hair), and Vaiṣṇavī *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. Each and every one of the Devī's head is overshadowed by a *catrāvali*. The *vāhanas* of the Mātṛkas are missing in the panel. They are attended by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati, placed side by side.

One of the *devakuḷikas* in the northern wall section houses an image of seated Viṣṇu attended by Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. It points out the Śrīvaiṣṇava ideology that Viṣṇu without Devī is powerless. It slowly gains ground in artistic tradition. Later, in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave, it is found that the tradition has sent its roots very deeply.[17] Another *devakuḷika* in the same row houses an image of Jyeṣṭhā. Devī is seated on a *bhadrāsana* in *pralambapāda* attitude. Her stomach is full. She wears a conical *makuṭa* and is attended by devotees. Devī wears a loin cloth, called *muṇḍu*.

The main Rājasiṁheśvara temple in its *devakoṣṭhas* at the *bhiṭṭi* part houses a number of iconographical illustrations, all noted for the rhythm and warmth of Pallava style. In one on the right (southern) side an image of Umāsahitamūrti appears. Devī in the image is seated at a lower level than Śiva to point out her inferior status. Normally in Somāskanda images or Umāsahitamūrti they are placed on the same seat. The main image is subjoined by two images of Gajalakṣmī (right) and Sarasvatī (left). Gajalakṣmī (Pl. LV.1) is of the usual typology, seated in *pralambapāda* attitude, holding *padmas* in the *dvibhujas*, wearing a cap-like headgear and elephants pouring *abhiṣeka* water. Sarasvatī (Pl. LV.2) is *caturbhuja* and seated in *lalitāsana*. She holds the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* in *parahastas* while the front right is in *ñānamudrā* attitude and the left placed on thigh. Devī wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa* and *sthanabandhas*. What is of special importance in the presentation is the presence of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī who attend on Umāsahita, a kind of rare alignment that we come across for the first time in iconographical illustrations of the age.

One of the *koṣṭhas* (facing north) (Vol. II, Pl. LXXIX.1) houses an image of Tripurāntaka, attended by seated Devī (right) and Siṁhavāhinī. She seems to represent Yogīśvarī since the eyes are closed in meditation and the front left hand placed on lap in *dhyāna* attitude. Devī is *caturbhuja* and holds a *triśūla* in front right. The back right holds a *nāga* and the left is in *tarjanimudrā*. An *aṅkuśa* is rested on the left shoulder, meant perhaps for the front left hand in *dhyāna* attitude. At the top left a *kapālapātra* is found carved. Devī has a *jaṭābhara*, fitted with a conical tuft. She wears all kinds of ornaments, a *kucabandha*, a long-flowing loin cloth and anklets. The image of Yogīśvarī is an important addition to our list of variables on the Devī theme. Though a stray piece is found in the Aihole museum and one *in situ*, these add immensely to confirm the fact that the famous Yogīśvara of Elephanta and Ellora find their feminine editions.

Siṁhavāhinī is astride a rearing lion and seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* attitude. She is *dvibhuja* and holds a bow in the left hand. She has the right hand sent backwards to pull out an arrow from the quiver. She wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, which is fitted with a *kapāla* and all kinds of ornaments, including a *kucabandha*.

Another *koṣṭha* in the same row illustrates Devī as Siṁhavāhinī. It is a replica of the image that is found in the southern *devakuḷika*. Devī is *atibhaṅga*, standing in *ālīḍha* posture with the left leg placed on the lion's back. She is *daśabhuja* and holds various weapons like *dhanus, kheṭaka (?), nāga, khaḍga, prayogacakra* and *triśūla*. A *paraśu* is found atop the left corner of the relief. She wears a conical *makuṭa, mālās, uttarīya, yajñopavīta, kucabandha* and so on. The present illustration of Siṁhavāhinī makes the total four within the Kailāsa at Kāñci. Thus, a kind of importance is attached to the form and interestingly enough no image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the fighting or *sthānaka* type is found here, excepting the seated one (*supra*). Maybe that the artist-philosopher attaches more importance to *yoga* and preparation for an encounter in a greater measure than the actual combat or the victory thereof. The meaning is when the initiatives are in the proper direction success is assured. This way we may explain the presence of Yogīśvarī also.[18]

The image of Siṁhavāhinī is subjoined by two representations of Jyeṣṭhā and Yogīśvarī. Jyeṣṭhā to the right is seated in *pralambapāda* attitude. She is attended by *nandi* to the right and a devotee to the left. She wears a long-flowing loin cloth. Her stomach and breasts are full, pointing out the motherly aspect of the Goddess. She wears a conical *makuṭa* and has both the hands in *kaṭakamudrā* attitude with no flowers in them.

Yogīśvarī is seated in *lalitāsana* attitude and *caturbhuja*. The front left hand is placed on lap in *dhyāna* attitude. The front right hand is in *ñānamudrā*. Objects in *parahastas* are not legible. Behind the panel on either side of Devī's head, the heads of a lion (right) and antelope (left) are found as in the case of Durgā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī in Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* at Māmallapuram. It is one more support to emphasise the yogic practice after which Devi proceeds to the battlefield to slay Mahiṣāsura. It adds one more variable to the Mahiṣāsuramardinī typologies,[19] viz., (1) Yogīśvari, (2) Siṁhavāhinī, (3) the Fighting Devī, (4) Slayer of zoomorphic Mahiṣāsura, (5) Standing on *mahiṣapīṭha* after the slaughter, (6) Variation of the 5th type having the *mahiṣapīṭha* replaced by *padmapīṭha* and (7) same of no. 5 seated. From Udayagiri to Kāñcīpuram there is a dramatic presentation of the myth from one anecdote to another and its transformation in visual art. In the process of transformation, the South Indian society through its artists had given an immortal treatment to the subject. Styles and treatments may vary but the basic unity in thought in respect of the forms as based on the *Devīmahātmyam* could not be questioned as it has already been proved by the author in a detailed paper.[20]

The *bhiṭṭi* part of Rājasiṁheśvara in its *mukhamaṇḍapa* section, facing Mahēndravarmeśvara, houses two images of Gajalakṣmī and Sarasvatī. Both these works are plastered recently and so the original features are gone. Furthermore, they are distorted. Gajalakṣmī is of the usual typology, seated in *pralambapāda*, holding *padmas* in *dvibhujas*, wearing a concial *makuṭa* and attended by *gajas*. It is interesting that she wears a long-flowing loin cloth and an upper cloth, never to be found in early medieval art but for the *sthanabandha*. It is definitely a later addition. The loin cloth never appears even in case of the several other originals wherein the images are not plastered.

The image of Sarasvatī is seated in *lalitāsana* posture upon a *bhadrapīṭha*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* in *parahastas*. The front left is in *dhyāna* attitude and placed on lap. The right holds a *puṣtaka*. The ornamentation in respect of dress and *ābharaṇas*, including *kirīṭamakuṭa* is later. These are in the typical post-Vijayanagara tradition.

In addition to the major iconographs, certain enigmatic forms appear in the Kailāsa. It begins with the fifth *devakuḷika* on the southern side wherein an image of *sthānaka* Devī is housed. She is attended by a gazelle and dwarfs. She is listening to a parrot. The same kind of miniatures appear at the top of *devakuḷikas* (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14 & 16). In few Devī is seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*. It is a rare and enigmatic theme. Its repeated occurence in minatures points out the fact that there should be some importance attached to it. The association of parrot is another novel element.[21]

Other Temples

The Airāvateśvara temple in its right wall section houses an image of Siṁhavāhinī. She is *ṣaṭbhuja* and holds the *dhanus*, *śaṅkha* (?), and *cakra* in three of the hands while the rest exhibit *vismaya*, *ūru* and *siṁhakarṇa mudrās*. She stands in *ālīḍha* posture by placing the lifted leg on the back of a lion. Devī is attended by an assistant who is astride an antelope. It is an interesting element that associates the antelope with Siṁhavāhinī. Elsewhere the antelope is associated with Durgā (Varāha-*maṇḍapa*) and Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Ādivarāhaviṣṇu-*gṛha*) of Māmallapuram. That means both are of the same order. The same idiom, linked with Siṁhavāhinī, would attest our earlier generalization that all belong to the same typology. She is the Tamil Koṟṟavai or *Kalaiyamarcelvi*.

The Iṟavātaneśvara temple in its left wall section houses an image of Siṁhavāhnī of the usual type. The Piṟavātaneśvara temple in its wall section has a representation of Siṁhavāhinī and Gajalakṣmī in the left wall. The latter is in the usual *pralambapāda* attitude.

The Mukteśvara temple in its right wall section houses an image of Vaiṣṇavī, standing in *samapāda* attitude. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. Vaiṣṇavī usually appears as an integral member of the Mātṛkas but it is a rare instance of independent representation.

TAKKŌLAM

The Jalānadīśvara temple in its left *devakoṣṭha* houses Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. LIX), standing on the decapitated head of *mahiṣa*. The Goddess stands in *atibhaṅga* attitude with the right leg in *kuñcita* posture. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the usual emblems in *parahastas*. The front right is in *abhaya* and left in *ūruhasta* attitude. The Goddess wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas*, necklaces, *sthanabandha, mekhala*, a loin cloth with ornate *puñjams, kaṅkaṇas*, bangles and anklets. The Goddess has a smiling countenance and stands very gracefully. Stylistically, it is one of the outstanding masterpieces though chronologically the temple belongs to the later Pallava period. Of all the early specimens in Māmallapuram, Devī in the cella of Draupadī-*ratha* is the most outstanding but the Takkōlam piece excels even the early works in its *femme* qualities. The smiling face, the narrow hip *vis-à-vis* stout buttocks, the *kuñcitapāda* and the two hands in *ūru* and *abhaya hastas* speak a lot in a mute language and meaningful script.

TIRUTTAṆI

The Vīraṭṭaneśvara temple in its left *devakoṣṭha* houses Durgā (Pl. LXII) of the type that is found in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* of Māmallapuram. Devī stands on an ordinary pedestal (not *padma-pīṭha*) in *samabhaṅga* attitude. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the usual emblems in *parahastas*. The front right is in *abhaya* and left *ūruhasta*. Devī wears a conical *makuṭa*, big necklace, *cannavīra, udarabandha, mekhala* and other ornaments. There seems to be a loin cloth of which the ornate *puñjam* alone appears visibly. The image is an interesting corolary to the Takkōlam piece. Pallava sculpture is ushering into a new world, leading to early Cōḻa, wherein the rigid iconographical regulations are more serious than the plastic and pictorial qualities.

The *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the *gajapṛṣṭa* temple houses seven images of Sapta Mātṛkas (Pls. LX-LXI.1-2). Nodoubt, they are stray pieces, perhaps collected and reinstalled when the original *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the temple fell. All are carved on separate slabs of stone, brought together and reassembled. They are seated on *bhadrāsana* in *lalitāsana* posture. They are uniformly *caturbhuja*, bear their weapons in *parahastas* and hold the *pūrvahastas* in *abhayamudrā* (right) and the left placed on thigh. The totemic emblems are carved on the pedestal as follows: swan-Brahmī, devil-Cāmuṇḍā, lion-Varāhī, peacock-Kaumārī, elephant-Aindrī, *garuḍapuruṣa*-Vaiṣṇavī and bull-Maheśvarī. Brahmī holds the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* in *parahastas*, Cāmuṇḍā *ḍamarū* and *triśūla*, Varāhī and Vaiṣṇavi *śaṅkha* and *cakra*, Kaumārī *akṣamālā* and *aṅkuśa* (?), Aindrī *vajra* and *pāśa*, and Maheśvarī *paraśu* and *mṛga*. All wear *karaṇḍamakuṭas* while Vaiṣṇavī and Aindrī wear *kiriṭamakuṭas*.Cāmuṇḍā has dishevelled hair, fitted with a *kapāla* on the headgear. They wear the *nāṇābharaṇa* and *sthanabandhas*. Cāmuṇḍā wears a *kapālamālā* and Kaumārī a *cannavīra*. The stylistic effect in respect of the Mātṛkas is also on the same plane as the image of Durgā.

CIṄKĀVARAM

The main cave is dedicated to Śeṣaśāyī while a small cella to the north hosues an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Devī stands in *tribhaṅga* posture, having the right leg slightly lifted and placed on the *mahiṣapīṭha*. She is *caturbhuja* and holds usual emblems in *parahastas*. The front is in *kaṭihasta* attitude and the right just rested on the thigh. The ornaments include a *jaṭāmakuṭa*, heavy *patrakuṇḍalas, mālās, sthanabandha, kaṅkanas, keyūras*, anklets and so on. Two devotees attend on the Goddess, the left one offering *añjali* and the right one attempting to cut his own limbs as an offering to the Mother. It is a rare idiom because in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Draupadī-*ratha* the concerned figure cuts his head. It was the custom in those times to cut the nine vital organs (and so called *navakaṇṭham*) as *bali* to Devī. We may recall here the nine severed heads that appear as a garland to the Liṅga in the corridor section (right side) of the Kailāsa in Ellora while another person is found cutting his own head. The evidences point out the widespread prevalence of the nine-organ-sacrifice to deities in those times. The Ciṅkāvaram piece adds one more element to the concept of *navakaṇṭham*. Stylistically, it is one of the better cast as we find Devi in *tribhaṅga* attitude as a parallel to the Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* of Māmallapuram and the Takkōlam specimens.

TIRUCCIRĀPPAḶḶI

Moving deep into the South, we reach Tiruccirāppaḷḷi from where the dynastic affiliation of the cave art pass into the hands of the early Pāṇḍyas. The lower cave (Pl. VI.3) houses an incomplete specimen of Durgā. The image appears on the back wall of the cave at its eastern extremity, subjoined to the cella which houses an image of *sthānaka*-Viṣṇu. At the western extremity an image of *sthānaka*-Gaṇapati appears, subjoined with the Liṅga shrine. In between, images of the Trimūrtis appear with Brahmā in centre, Śiva to the right and Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa to the left. That means Durgā is at the centre of Sūryanārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu.

The cross sectional alignment of Gaṇapati and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, beginning with Udayagiri, finds its southern-most outpost in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave of which we have several examples in Ellora and few in Badāmī (Bhūtanātha complex) and Moghulrājapuram (Cave IV miniature cella). In Bhairavakoṇḍa, Caṇḍikeśvara takes the place of Devī and in Kāñcīpuram (Kailāsa-northern doorway of Mahēndravarmeśvara) Gajalakṣmī replaces Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Interesting that enough, the two subways that lead to Rājasiṁheśvara house only one so as to face each other in a superficial view. Here both are images of Devī, Siṁhavāhinī at the northern doorway (left in *pradakṣiṇa* pattern) and Gajalakṣmī at the southern doorway (right in *pradakṣiṇa* pattern). It is an interesting phenomenon that merits a deep study, keeping in mind the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* concept of the Hindu temple. All these evidences prove that the Gaṇapati-Devī alignment is a pan-South-Indian concept.

Durgā (Pl. LXIII) is one of the most outstanding within the area of our study. Devī stands on an ordinary pedestal in *samapāda-sthānaka* attitude. The lower part being incomplete, it is difficult to specify the type. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the personified *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. It is a very rare element and the only one of its kind. The *śaṅkha* part of the carving is incomplete but not difficult to specify the personified aspect of the *āyudha-puruṣa* spoken with reference to the corresponding work on the right side and the rocky mass left at the spot for the carving. The front left is in *ūruhasta* and the right *āvāhana-mudrā*.[22] Devī is decorated with the usual ornaments. Two devotees are present, the right one cutting his own head and the left offering *añjali*. Stylistically, it is a remarkable one. Perhaps the artist has tried to follow the formula in respect of the Draupadī-*ratha* piece, housed in the cella. The hip and buttocks though unproportionate add a classical charm and elegance to the entire composition. Devī has an oval face, fitted with a tall headgear. The breasts are not that full as we find in other specimens. If completed, it would have been one of the wonders of the age, both stylistically and thematically.

MALAIYAṬIPPAṬṬI

The Vāgīśvara cave temple houses an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Sapta Mātṛkas in its left and back wall sections. Both are important from the iconographical point of view as they include several new elements.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī stands on a *padmapīṭha* in *tribhaṅga* attitude. She is *aṣṭabhuja* and holds a *triśūla* in *pūrvahastas*, thrust into the neck of Mahiṣāsura. The other hands are visible but the objects illegible. The Goddess is attended by two male figures near the base. On the right side is a lion rampant. Mahiṣa's buffalo-head alone is visible and with reference to the two Māmallapuram specimens it may be construed that the present one had a human body. Iconometrically, it can be justified because the empty space below the buffalo head is on a level with the Devī's torso.

The thematic treatment of the subject is obvious as it purports to illustrate the duel between Devī and Mahiṣāsura. Next to Māmallapuram and Ellora (Cave XVI), it is one of the most outstanding specimens on the subject. The Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa* piece at Māmallapuram occupies a unique place in Indian iconographical tradition by virtue of the vivid thematic portrayal and classical pictorial qualities. The Ellora piece is on similar lines but the aesthetic quality is quite unsatisfactory. The Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi piece stands in between these polarities, both territorially and stylistically.

Another important iconographical idiom, which deserves a special note is that Devī stands on a *padmapīṭha* while engaged in fighting with the demon. It offers an important clue for identification of the form of Devī, spoken with reference to the seven typological variables (*supra*, p. 98). All represent one and the same Devī who goes in search of Mahiṣāsura, fights with him, slays and stands upon his decapitated head. Now, the question is whether Devī standing on *padma-pīṭha* could be the same as the one standing on *mahiṣapīṭha*. It is possible because the Goddess stands on a *padmapīṭha* at Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi even while engaged in a combat with the demon. The *padmapīṭha* could by all means substitute a *mahiṣapīṭha*. The importance of the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi piece lies in providing a clue to resolve the question.

The Mahiṣāsuramardinī relief is juxtaposed with images of Skanda and Harihara. It may be recalled that in cave XXI of Ellora and Cave I of Badāmī the warrior-goddess is attended by Skanda. According to an episode in the *Mahābhārata*, Skanda is associated with the Goddess in her war against the demons.[23]

The Sapta Mātṛkas begin (Pl. LXV) with Brahmī and ends with Cāmuṇḍā besides Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. The Mātṛkas are in the following order: Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā. All, including the male members of the group, are uniformly seated on *bhadrapīṭhas* in *lalitāsana* posture. They are decorated with the usual *ābharaṇas*. They wear *kirīṭamakuṭas* uniformly, excepting Cāmuṇḍā who has the locks of hair arranged in *caṭaimuṭi* as in the Māmallapuram stray piece. They are *caturbhuja* and hold the original hands in *abhayamudrā* (right) and rested on thigh (left). The *parahastas* hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha* (for Vaiṣṇavī and Varāhī), *vajra* and *akṣamālā* (for Kaumārī), the rest being illegible or broken. The totemic emblems characteristic of the Mothers are carved near their heads. We find the swan, peacock, eagle, elephant and bull.

The Sapta Mātṛkas of Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi occupy an important place in the cult system of the Putukkōṭṭai and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam regions because it is one of our evidences (others being the Tirukōkarṇam and Tirukkālakkuṭi cave temples and Tiruppattūr structural temple)[24] to point out the percolation of the Mātṛkas into the deep South. By about A.D. 800 the Mātṛka cult is entrenched in the zone, all these places falling within a radius of 60 kms. In the Pāṇḍināḍu area Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam is a solitary base of the Mātṛkas. There are other panels in Tamil Nadu at Kāñcīpuram (Kailāsa), Māmallapuram and Tiruttaṇi but the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi piece along with Tirukōkarṇam (at a distance of 35 kms. from Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi) is outstanding.

Stylistically speaking the figures are slim and tall with plump oval faces which compare strikingly with the Ellora specimens in the Kailāsa. On stylistic grounds there seems to have been an interaction between Tamil Nadu and the Deccan with regard to the Mātṛkas.

TIRUKOKARṆAM

The main cave temple to its right on the lowest depression of the boulder houses the Sapta Mātṛkas (Pl. LXIV), flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati. The Mātṛkas are within the common zone while the other two are marked within a specified area by a margin-line.

Vīrabhadra in this group appears with peculiar features. He is *caturbhuja* and holds a *cāmara*-like object (may also be the bunch of crops) in *parahastas*. The Mātṛkas are seated in *lalitāsana* posture upon *bhadrapīṭhas*. All, excepting Brahmī, are uniformly *dvibhuja* and hold no emblems in any of their hands, excepting Brahmī and Cāmuṇḍā. They hold the front in *abhayamudrā* and left placed on thigh. They wear different kinds of *makuṭas*. No totemic emblem is found carved and so it is difficult to identify them, excepting the polycephalous Brahmī, sow-faced Varāhi and the last one Cāmuṇḍā. The fifth one is likely to be Vaiṣṇavī, sixth Varāhī and seventh Cāmuṇḍā. The problem is with regard to the remaining three. The pattern of arrangement falls in line with the Auraṅgābād group of Mātṛkas and so we may suggest that the rest in order are Maheśvarī, Kaumārī and Aindrī. Brahmī holds both the *parahastas* in *āvāhanamudrās*, a rare idiom. Cāmuṇḍā has dishevelled hair, wears heavy *patrakuṇḍalas*, a *kapālamālā* and has the canine teeth peeping out of the fearsome mouth. The figures are about 2' in height. They are better preserved and appear to represent an archaic form of the Mātṛkas.

TIRUPPATTŪR

The Pāṇḍyan structural temple has preserved only its architectural skeleton while most of the sculptures in *koṣṭhas* are gone. However, there is a stray collection of the Mātṛkas who are arranged in a corner of the temple. All are *caturbhuja* and seated in *lalitāsana* upon *bhadrapīṭhas*. They are arranged in the usual mode as follows: Brahmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā. Brahmī bears the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* in *parahastas* while Maheśvarī holds *ṭaṅka* and *mṛga*, Kaumārī *śakti* and *triśūla*, Vaiṣṇavī *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, Varāhī a rod and *halā*, Aindrī *śakti* and *vajra*, and Cāmuṇḍā *triśūla* and *nāga*. Though the order of the Mātṛkas is in tune with the common early medieval trend, the stylistic effect fails to suggest anything in support of their early Pāṇḍyan character. They are likely to be later additions.

Close to the panel of the Mātṛkas, there is another stray slab which consists of three of the Mātṛkas, wrongly labled Jyeṣṭhādevī. It begins with Varāhī and ends with two more. All are uniformly *dvibhuja* as in the Tirukōkarṇam pieces. It is difficult to identify the other two due to lack of evidence. We find none of the emblems or totemic symbols. Apart from them, another carving of a stray Mātṛka is found close to the Durgā shrine at the western part of the temple. About 3' in height, the image seems to be the original. The Mother is *caturbhuja* and holds the *triśūla* and *akṣamālā* in *parahastas*. The front right is in *āvāhanamudrā* and left rested on thigh. The *mudrā* is a feature that we find in case of Brahmī at Tirukōkarṇam. She wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa* and *makarakuṇḍalas*. She is likely to be Kaumārī. All other Mātṛkas are lost.

The above groups of three Mātṛkas found present within the Tiruttaḷinātha temple would suggest that during three different ages, three different groups of Mātṛkas were made and instituted in the temple for worship. The existing group of seven may be the latest, some 300 years old. The other one with three in a row is likely to be about 600 years old. The third one, Kaumārī is the original. It points out the fact that the Mātṛkas tradition had continued to persist down to the present day from the early Pāṇḍyan period onwards. In making the images, we have no proof that the original tradition was in any way maintained because in the second set Varāhi is followed by two more that is not the case with the existing one wherein the last is Cāmuṇḍā whereas in the previous case it is not so.

KUṆṆAKKUṬI

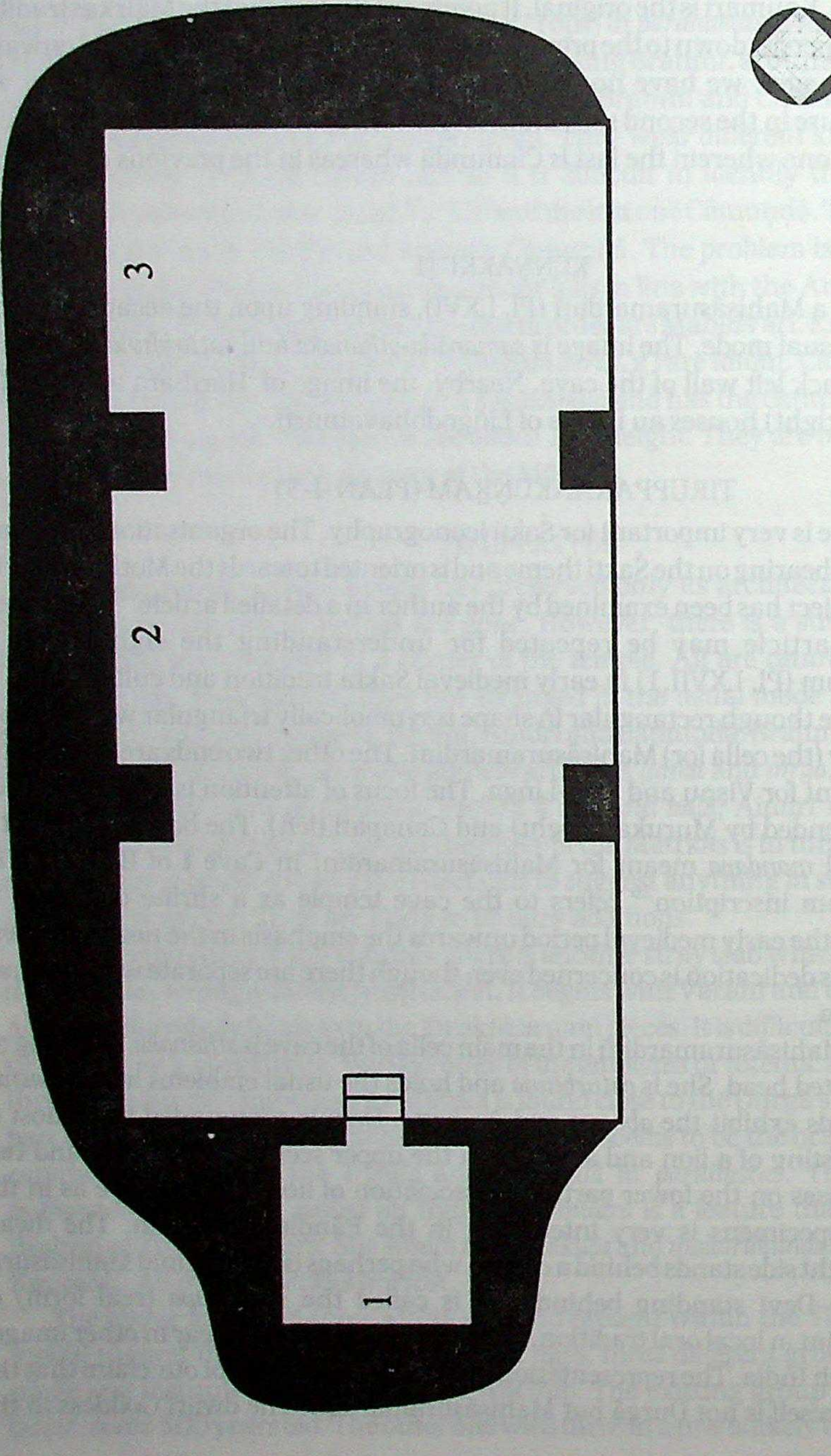
Cave I houses a Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. LXVI), standing upon the decapitated head of *mahiṣa* in the usual mode. The image is *samapāda-sthānaka* and *caturbhuja.* The image appears on the back left wall of the cave. Nearby, the image of Harihara appears. The other back wall (right) houses an image of Liṅgodbhavamūrti.

TIRUPPARAṄKUṆṞAM (PLAN 4-5)

The north cave is very important for Śakti iconography. The organisation of the cave itself has a special bearing on the Śakti theme and is oriented towards the Mother Superior ideology. The subject has been examined by the author in a detailed article.[25] The salient features of the article may be repeated for understanding the significance of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam (Pl. LXVII.1) in early medieval Śakta tradition and cult history.

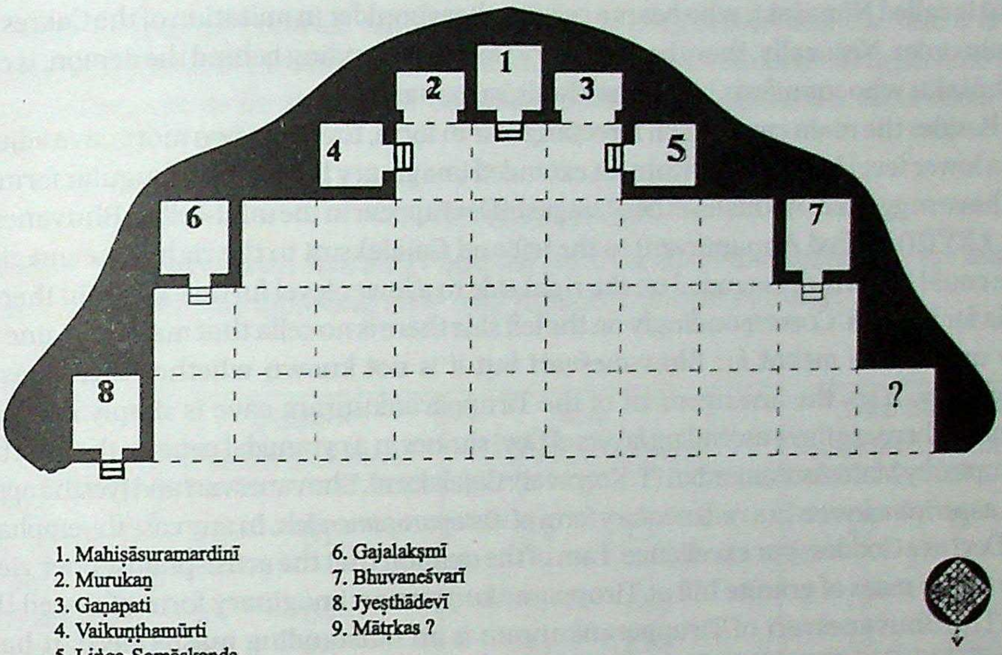
The north cave though rectangular in shape is symbolically triangular with the apex being occupied by (the cella for) Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The other two ends are represented by the cellae meant for Viṣṇu and Śiva-Liṅga. The focus of attention is on Devī who on either sides is attended by Murukaṉ (right) and Gaṇapati (left). The basic alignment is akin to the small *maṇḍapa* meant for Mahiṣāsuramardinī in Cave I of Badāmī. The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam inscription[26] refers to the cave temple as a shrine dedicated to Durgādevī. From the early medieval period onwards the emphasis in the north cave was on Devī as far as its dedication is concerned even though there are separate womb houses for Viṣṇu and Śiva.

The image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the main cella of the cave is *sthānaka,* standing on *mahiṣa's* decapitated head. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the usual emblems in *parahastas.* The original hands exhibit the *abhaya* and *ūruhasta.* Devī is surrounded by a host of attendants, consisting of a lion and antelope in the upper section of the relief and two additional goddesses on the lower part. The association of lion and antelope as in the Māmallapuram specimens is very interesting in the Pāṇḍināḍu region. The dwarf Goddess on the right side stands behind a demon who perhaps is the original Mahiṣāsura. It is because the Devī standing behind him is called the *svayarūpa* (real form) of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in local oral tradition. A rare idiom, it fails to appear in other images of the type in South India. The representation also comes in support of our claim that the main Goddess hereself is not Durgā but Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The dwarf Goddess to the



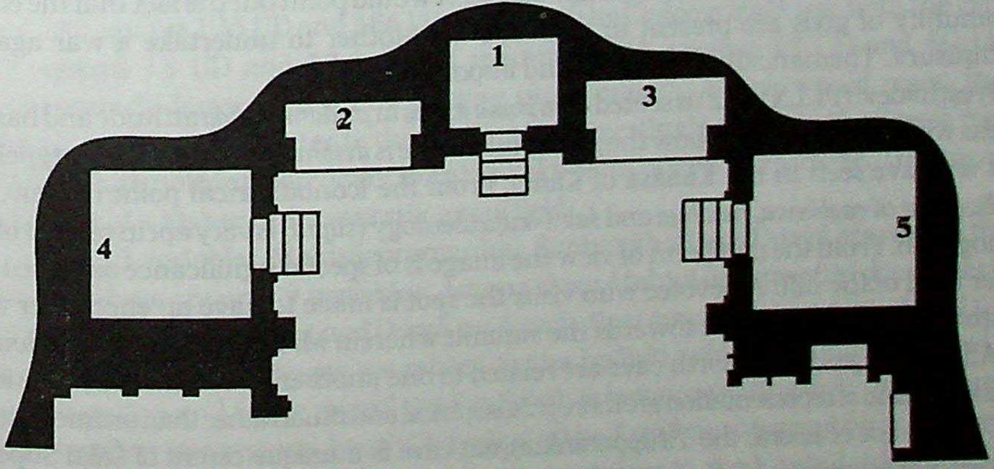
4. Plan of Cave temple, Teṉparaṅkuṉṟam

1.Ardhanārī
2.Naṭarāja
3.Murukaṉ with Devīs
Plan not to scale



1. Mahiṣāsuramardinī
2. Murukaṉ
3. Gaṇapati
4. Vaikuṇṭhamūrti
5. Liṅga-Somāskanda
6. Gajalakṣmī
7. Bhuvaneśvarī
8. Jyeṣṭhādevī
9. Mātṛkas ?

Plan: Pyramidal pattern, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam North caves



Detail of 1, 2, 3.

Plans not to scale

5. Pyramidal pattern of cave temple, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam

right is called Ñānaśakti who bears a *cakra* on her shoulder in imitation of the Cakreśvarīs of Jain order. Naturally, the other auxiliary Goddess, standing behind the demon, is called Icchāśakti who manifests herself as Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

Besides the main cave which is rectangular in form, there are two more cave adjuncts on a lower level but falling within an extended imaginary line of the triangular form that we have suggested. At this level two images of Devī appear in the mini-cellae, Bhuvaneśvarī (Pl. LXVIII) (called Aṉṉapūraṇi) to the left and Gajalakṣmī to the right. The imaginary line could be further extended on the right side to a lower level further wherein there is a cella for Jyeṣṭhā. Correspondingly on the left side there is no cella that may fall in line with the upper cella meant for Bhuvaneśvarī but it is not known whether there was any originally. If so, the arrangement of the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam cave is simply marvellous because there are three ascending layers of Devī shrines in a pyramidal pattern; the apex being occupied by Mahiṣāsuramardinī (T. Koṟṟavai); Gajalakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā appearing as *parivāradevatas* in a rudimentary form of *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. In any case the emphasis is on Devī as a Goddess par excellence. I am of the opinion that the artist-philosopher viewed the entire mass of granite hill at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam an imaginary form of seated Devī.

The Bhuvaneśvarī of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam is an outstanding masterpiece. It has no parallel in any other part of South India from Udayagiri downwards. Devī is seated on a *bhadrāsana* in *lalitāsana* attitude. She is *caturbhuja* and holds the *cakra* (?) and *paraśu* in *parahastas*. The front right is in *abhaya* and left rested on thigh. Devī is decorated with *sakalābharaṇa* and poses like a World Mother. She is attended by the Trimūrtis, therioanthropic Nandi, *ṛṣis*, Nārada and others. It would point out the fact that the entire community of gods are present to persuade the Mother to undertake a war against Mahiṣāsura. Thematically, it is a rare and important image.

Jyeṣṭhādevi (Pl. LXVII.2) is seated on a *bhadrāsana* in *pralambapāda* attitude and has the thighs widened enough to show the *yoni* symbol. She is *dvibhuja* and of the same typology that we have seen in the Kailāsa of Kāñci. From the iconometrical point of view, the application of *vagbhava, madhya* and *śakti-kuṭa* ideology (*supra*) is very apt in respect of the iconograph. From the cult point of view the image is of special significance as posted at a lower level of the hill. A devotee who visits the spot is made to have an encounter with Jyeṣṭhā first and then move towards the summit wherein Mahiṣāsuramardinī is found.

All the images in the north cave are related to one another in a subtle way. The ideas behind the kind of representation are more philosophical and ritual rather than artistic. Just like the Rāmeśvara of Ellora, the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam cave is a unique centre of Śakti Superior concept. Being organised in the triangular Śrīcarka form, which expands macrocosmically, the Tantric orientation of the cave is obvious.

The south cave at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam in its cella houses an image of Ardhanārīśvara spoken with reference to the north cave, the appearance of Ardhanārī in the *garbhagṛha* is of some significance. I am of the view that in the representation the Śakti Superior ideology, in marked contrast with Paṭṭadakkal, is emphasised and the mūrti is to be viewed feminine and not musculine. In doing so the Tamil ideas as incorporated in the *Cilappatikāram* or as for the matter Śaṅkara could have supplied the theoretical mandate.[27]

CONSOLIDATION

When compared with Śiva and Viṣṇu the Śakti variables and specimens are minimal in the Far South. The following table may explain this aspect clearly:

Region	*Viṣṇu* *variables/specimens*		*Śiva* *variables/specimens*		*Śakti Goddesses* *variables/specimens*	
Upper Deccan (UD)	16	61	24	125	15	57
Lower Deccan (LD)	21	63	21	186	12	60
Far South	22	85	33	230	11	51
Total (%)	209(100)		541(100)		168(100)	

The Far South dominates the list as far as variables (Viṣṇu 22 against 16 UD and 21 LD; Śiva 33 against 24 UD and 21 LD) and specimens (Viṣṇu 85 against 61 UD and 63 LD; Śiva 230 against 125 UD and 186 LD). In case of the Goddess tradition, both the variables (11 against 15 UD and 12 LD) and specimens (51 against 57 UD and 60 LD) are quantitatively lesser. It is an interesting phenomenon, which would mean that the Goddess had not proliferated in the Far South. Interestingly again, in the Kerala region of the Far South nothing significant from the Śakti point of view is traceable. That means the Śakti cult of a higher order was still out of field.

Of the 11 variables, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Siṁhavāhinī and Durgā are related themes. Actually there are only 9 variables. Among them Mahiṣāsuramardinī dominates the list (13/51) while Siṁhavāhinī and Durgā get 6 each, thus making the total 25 (25/51), which means 50% of the specimens are related to the buffalo subject. Gajalakṣmī gets a fair representation and in the regard the Far South is better quantitatively when compared with the other two regions. Jyeṣṭhā is typical of the Tamil country and no specimen of the type is found in the Deccan. She perhaps is a corolary to the Yoninilayā of the Deccan which fails to appear in the Far South. Yogīśvarī is a rare variable as is *sthānaka*-Devī associated with a parrot motif. Vaiṣṇavī appearing all alone makes a radical departure from the pan-Indian trend as she normally appears only in the company of the Sapta Mātṛkas. Bhuvaneśvarī (alias Aṉṉapūrṇa) of is a unique representation on the subject.

Of the 11 variables 4 appear in *garbhagṛhas*, excluding Ardhanārīśvara. They are Durgā (Draupadī-*ratha* of Mamallapuram), Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Ciṅkāvaram and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Jyeṣṭhā (Tirupparaṅkuṅṟam) and Bhuvaneśvarī (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam). In the respect, the Far South tops the list since in Upper Deccan we do not have even a single living temple of the Goddess tradition. In the Lower Deccan we do have some (e.g. Moghulrājapuram and Advisomanapaḷḷi) but the qualitative output in Tamil Nadu is much better. Where do we find a kind of classical Mahiṣāsuramardinī or Bhuvaneśvarī or Jyeṣṭhā or Durgā of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam and Māmallapuram being housed in the *garbhagṛha* in other regions of the sub-continent ? during the period under study. Even Udayagiri stands far behind Tamil Nadu in this respect. It may be assertively stated that it was in Tamil Nadu that the cult of Devī was very powerful. We will have to further look into the reasons why the quantitative representation in respect of variables and specimens is lesser.

Explaining the *raison d' être* in respect of the phenomenal growth of Goddess cult in Tamil Nadu it may be added that the Tamil concept of Koṟṟavai had a strong root during the pre-Pallava period, the high pitch of which is summarised by Iḷaṅkō in his *magnum opus*, the *Cilappatikāram*. She is spoken of as the Goddess of the *pālai* 'desert' land tract in the earliest of the Caṅkam classics. In Tamil Nadu there is no desert land of the type that we find in western India (the Tar desert) or western Africa (the famous Sahara). If so, how then they talk of *pālai* ? The text cited above itself speaks of *pālai* as a phase that appears during the high tide of summer (or even during times of acute famine if rain fails for years together) when *kuṟiñci* 'hill' and *mullai* 'forest' acquire the temporary *pālai* character. But the temples of Koṟṟavai that is noted in the foregoing account appear only in the *neytal* 'littoral' (e.g. Māmallapuram) and *marutam* 'fields' (irrigated by river and tank water) regions. It means Koṟṟavai was Goddess of the five lands, maybe the *pālai* dwellers, called in Tamil *āṟalaikkaḷvar* who were professed to highway robbery and *eyinar* 'hunters' (*supra* ch. I) adored her willingly.

Iconographically the Koṟṟavai of Tamil Nadu is an advanced subject when comapred with several other regional representations in the South. The antelope (*kalai* and so called *Kalaiyamarcelvi*) is a novel idiom that is mentioned in the Tamil classics. Again, the kind of therioanthropic form of Mahiṣāsura with buffalo-head and human body seems to have been a typical Tamil idea.

Among centres of the Śākta cult, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam gets a unique place. Even the Rāmeśvara of Ellora and several of the structural temples in Aihole stand far behind because we have both monumental and epigraphical evidences to prove the dedication of temples to Śakti goddesses. In no other centre such a concentration of iconographical typologies and the temples dedicated to Devi is traceable. The south cave, dedicated to Ardhanārī is another exception in the entire South.

The independent representation of Vaiṣṇavī in the Mukteśvara at Kāñcīpuram is another rarity of the age. Scholars believe[28] that only after the Cōḷa period (14th century A.D.) that the Mātṛka unit breaks into independent ones. Spoken with reference to the Kāñci specimen and few of the stray pieces found in Paṭṭadakkal and Aihole it may be suggested that the trend began a little earlier, maybe the early 9th century A.D. The Mukteśvara specimen provides a solid clue to the generalization because the icon is found *in situ*.

Among the other issues, which merit a brief discussion is that why Gajalakṣmī fails to appear in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñci ? where in fact none of the independent representation of Devī is found. In fact, it is in Vaiṣṇavism that they developed the concept of no-Viṣṇu-without-Lakṣmī, called Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Are we to suggest that the ideology was a later development, which acquired momentum at the fag end of the Pallava period (e.g. Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi). If so Vaikuṇṭhā Perumāḷ will have to be dated earlier than the Kailāsanātha because Viṣṇu is in the endearing clasp of his Devīs at the latter temple.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF ICONOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES: FAR SOUTH

Variables	Distribution pattern: place-wise													
	MAM.	VAL.	TKM.	KAN.	TAK.	TRT.	CIN.	TIR.	TKK.	MTP.	KUN.	TPT.	TPK.	Total
Mahiṣāsuramardinī	5	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	13
Siṁhavāhinī	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Durgā	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Sapta Mātṛkas	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	6
Gajalakṣmī	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
Jyeṣṭhā	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Sarasvatī	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yogīśvarī	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Āsana-Devī*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vaiṣṇavī	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Annapūrṇa (Bhuvaneśvarī)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	13	1	1	22	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	51

* The miniatures are not taken into account.

Abbreviations: MAM. Māmallapuram, VAL. Vallam, TKM. Tirukaḻukkuṉṟam, KAN. Kāñcīpuram, TAK. Takkōlam, TRT. Tiruttaṇi, CIN. Ciṅkāvaram, TIR. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, TKK. Tirukōkarṇam, MTP. Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, TPT. Tiruppattūr, TPK. Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam and KUN. Kuṉṉakuṭi.

Another significant factor to reckon with is that the kind of Śakti imagery which appears in the west at Elephanta-Jogeśvarī and extends upto Moghulrājapuram in coastal Andhra Pradesh stops practically at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. Kaḻukumalai (Tirunelvēli area), Viḻiñam (tip of the South) and Irunilamkōḍu (central Kerala) have no representations of Devī. It is to be remembered that the author of *Cilappatikāram*, Iḷaṅkō, and of *Saundaryalaharī*, Śaṅkara, are from Kerala. It is to point out that poets and philosophers speak for a community as a whole and they are not region-bound. The ideas adumbrated by these poet-philosophers took lot of time before their ideologies could be inducted into the temples and cults of their own motherland. Our earlier generalization in respect of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the hymnists the Nāyaṉmār and Āḻvārs that they were philosophers of the South stands further confirmed.

REFERENCES

1. K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, p. iii.
2. A.J. Gail, Rock carvings of Four Deities in Mamallapuram, *N.G. Majumdar Commenoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1996, pp. 347-51.
3. Raju Kalidos, "The Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi Cave Temples", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, 1988, pp. 62-3; "Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, 1989, pp. 16, 20-2.
4. K.R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
5. A.J. Gail fails to consider the present image in his study (*supra* fn. 2).
6. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols.
7. Elaborated in Raju Kalidos, "Devī's Preeminence in South Indian Cult System and Art: A Study in Ādi Śaṅkara's Philosophical Impact" (Paper submitted to the VIII World Sanskrit Conference, Vienna, 1990). In Kalidos ed. *Sectarian Rivalry in Art and Literature*, pp. 41-60.
8. In recent times a dentist who is an amature writer is making immature and indecent remarks about K.R. Srinivasan and other standing scholars in the field of rock-cut art (*vide, PTNHC* 1999, pp. 214-21). He is nominated member of a panel to write the advanced history of Tamil Nadu. In fact he is neither an historian nor a Tamiologist. If such persons sit in high level of committees, how could an objective history be writen ? It is the sad state of research in Tamil Nadu. The UGC visiting committee of the 7th plan wanted the Tamil University to publish the first volume in the present series. It was never heeded to. The reason is explicit.
9. Folk god-men and goddess-women wear such a kind of of *jaṭā* (T. *caṭai*), which forms of its own due to wax formation and such persons are held in high esteem. There is holiness attached behind the kind of locks of hair. People, even kings (e.g. Mārañ-Caṭaiyaṉ of the first Pāṇḍyan Empire), were named Caṭaiyaṉ and Caṭaicci, very popular in the Maturai region.
10. *Lalitāsahasranāma*, nos. of epithets 85-87.
11. See C. Suryanarayana Murthy, *Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma*, Bombay 1975, p. 68.
12. For a detailed examination of the concept see my article, "Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art", *East and West*, Vol. 40-1-4, 1990, pp. 115-43, fig. 10.

13. R.K.K. Rajarajan, *Rock-cut Model Shrines in Early Indian Art*, p. 59, fig. 22.
14. *Infra* for detailed note and see Raju Kalidos, *Acta Orientalia* (*supra* n. 3.).
15. Is it a motif such as the one found in the Udayagiri illustrations? See Raju Kalidos, *Acta Orientalia* (*supra* n. 3), fig. 8. See also for a discussion on the subject J.C. Harle, "On a disputed element in the Iconography of Early Mahiṣāsuramardinī Images", *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. VIII, 1970, pp. 147-53.
16. Cf. figure of *kēṭayam* in V. Ganapati Sthapati, *Ciṟpaccennūl*, p. 133.
17. For a detailed examination see Raju Kalidos, "The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Cave Temples", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, 1988, pp. 66, 68.
18. Yogic austerities in fulfilment of an avowed ambition is a familiar mythical idiom in Indian tradition. We may recall here the *tapas* undertaken by Arjuna to receive the *pāśupatāstra* from Śiva and its immortalisation in the art of Māmallapuram. Similarly, Devī undertakes a penance to take the hands of Śiva. The theme perhaps is reproduced in the famous Kalyāṇasundaramūrti panel in Cave XXI of Ellora. See also H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Fig. 121.
19. Raju Kalidos, "Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī ...", *Acta Orientalia* (*supra*, fn. 2), see arrangement of figs.
20. *Idem.*
21. Association of the parrot (T. *kiḷi*) with Devī is an enigmatic emblem. The motif is associated with a *brahmarṣi*, called Śuka, who is said to possess the head of a parrot, maybe to point out his wisdom and intelligence. There is no other instance of the parrot being associated with any of the gods and goddesses. In later medieval Tamil tradition, the tutelary Goddess of the Pāṇḍyas, Mīṉākṣī, came to be associated with the parrot. The image of the Goddess as found in the *garbhagṛha* of the Maturai temple bears the parrot in one of her hands. The Goddess herself is supposed to be green (an apology for blue or black) and the green coloured parrot may stand for prosperity as it is to be found only greener regions of the earth. How the idiom appears in respect of the Devī images in Kailāsa ? is a point for consideration. Are we to presume that the Mīṉākṣī-parrot link is as old as the 7th century A.D. ? It is important to keep in mind what Iḷaṅkō in his *Cilappatikāram* says regarding the offer of parrots among those presented to the Goddess during *bali* (*supra*, ch. I). It is the only thread of link but the evidence is insufficient to establish any kind of meaningful symbolism.
22. It is the inviting attitude, which normally gets associated with Śeṣaśāyī. The hand being held close to the genital, it seems to be of some importance from the Tantric point of view.
23. D.C. Sircar, "Mahiṣāsuramardinī-Durgā", *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, eds. S. Ritti & B.R. Gopal, p. 157; D.D. Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths ....*, pp. 176-92; T.B. Coburn, *Devī Māhātmyam: the Crystalisation of the Goddess Tradition*, p. 226. A.J. Gail during a recent visit (2002) told me they are early Pallava which date falls in line with the rock-cut cave on the place.
24. During a recent visit (1996) stray pieces of later Pallava type of Matṛkas, comparable with the Tiruttaṇi specimens, were found in the Kuṉṉāṇṭārkōyil cave temple complex., R.K.K. Rajarajan (1991; 399-409) has reported such stray pieces from the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north group (cf. Devakunjari 1979).
25. Raju Kalidos, "Structure and Organisation of the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Cave Temple", *Annali*, Napoli, Vol. 51:3, 1991, pp. 263-79. For an improved version of the study see R.K.K.

Rajarajan, "Further Light on Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Caves", *Annali*, Vol. 51:4, 1991, pp. 395-405.

26. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 67 (37 of 1908). 'Śrī Kō Māṟañcaṭaiyarkku rājyavarṣam āṟāvatu cellāniṟpa maṟṟavarkku Mahāsāmantaṉākiya Karavantapurātivā Śrīvaidhyaṉ Pāṇḍi Amṛtamaṅgala varaiyaṉākiya Cāttaṅgaṇapati tiruttuvittatu tirukkōilum śrītaṭākamum itaṉuḷaṟamuḷḷatum maṟṟavarkku dharmapattini ākiya Nakkaṅkoṟṟiyār ceyyappaṭṭatu Durgādevī kōilum Jyeṣṭhā kōilum'. The temple for Durgādevī and Jyeṣṭhā was excavated by Nakkaṉkoṟṟi, wife of Cāttaṉgaṇapati who was the Royal Physician. The latter was the original donor of the temple that was not completed by him who excavated part of the temple and the tank. He did it in the sixth regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king, Māṟañcaṭaiyaṉ (c. A.D. 765-815), also known as Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, *Vide*, R.K.K. Rajarajan "Further Light on Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Caves", *Annali*, Vol. 51:4, 1991, pp. 395-408. It is to point out that the renovation was completed in the year c. A.D. 771. The temples dedicated to Durgādevī (Mahiṣāsuramardinī actually) and Jyeṣṭhā are clearly noted.
27. Raju Kalidos, "Devī's Preeminence in South Indian Art and Cult System: A Study in Ādi Śaṅkara's Philosophical Impact", Paper submitted to the VIII World Sanskrit Conference, Vienna 1990 (cf. n. 7); See also the author's "The twain-face of Ardhanāri", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 54, 1993, pp. 68-106.
28. Suresh B. Pillai, *Introduction to the Study of Temple Art*, p. 90; also K.V. Soundararajan, *The Art of South India: Tamil Nadu and Kerala*, pp. 72, 161; Raju Kalidos, *Temples Cars of Medieval Tamiḻaham*, pp. 136-40.

CHAPTER V

Classification and Analysis

The iconographical variables with due credence to their quantitative output in all three zones of early medieval art are taken into account in the chapter to obtain an consolidated picture of their distribution and development pattern, and percolation of idioms from region to region. Totally 22 variables are listed as follows: Group I: Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Siṁhavāhinī, Sapta Mātṛkas, Sarasvatī, Gajalakṣmī and *Āsana*-Devī; Group II: Durgā, Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, Kālī, Yoninilayā and Yogīśvarī; Group: III: Cāmuṇḍā, Vaiṣṇavī, Jyeṣṭhā, Naṭeśvarī, *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Bhuvaneśvarī, *Sthānaka*-Devī, Subhadrā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sonabhadrā. Among these 22 variables, 6 listed under Group I are found present in all three zones uniformly and so are common factors. Under Group II there are 5, present in any two of the zones and so are random factors. The remaining eleven, listed under Group III, are present in any one of the zones and so are rare factors.

Under the shuffling analysis pattern we attempt a study of these variables to point out the evolution of a typology with due reference to concentration, distribution and its chronology. It is to help trace the roots of a form and show how it percolated within the area of its distribution during the chronological framework of the study. The comparative study may be of use to pinpoint (1) evolutionary process of Śakti forms, (2) regional peculiarities, (3) pan-Indian trends, (4) mutual influences from region to region, and (5) to say how iconic forms got stylised.

The overall importance of the analysis may be of use to evaluate the cult system and its development during the period under study. The presence of an iconographical form or its distribution within an area need not necessarily be accidental or due mainly to artistic efflorescence. The value attached to a form should necessarily be due to the cult system in vogue. The analysis may ultimately show the cult background of an iconic form.

COMMON FACTORS

Variables falling under the head are Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Siṁhavāhinī, Sapta Mātṛkas, Sarasvatī, Gajalakṣmī and *Āsana*-Devī. Siṁhavāhinī, is a variation of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and the Mātṛkas her *aide de camp*. The total number of specimen under Common Factors is 119 (70.8%).

Mahiṣāsuramardinī:

The concentration is mostly in Ellora (10), Alampūr (11), Āihole (6), Māmallapuram (5) and Badāmī (4). Other centres are Bhokardān, Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakkal, Moghulrājapuram, Kāñci, Takkōlam, Ciṅkāvaram, Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, Kuṉṉakkuṭi and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam.

There are several sub-variables under the head. The earliest specimens in cave temples are to be found in Udayagiri of the Gupta period (Pl. IX). The style relates to the slaughter of a zoomorphic *mahiṣa* by Devī. From Udayagiri, it has made its impact felt mostly over Upper Deccan of which several pieces are found in the Ellora caves. Its southern extension is at Badāmī wherein a classical piece is found in Cave I. The subvariables may be listed as follows thematically:

1. Duel between Mahiṣāsura and Devī.
2. Slaughter of the zoomorphic *mahiṣa* by Devī.
3. Devī standing upon the severed head of *mahiṣa*.
4. Devī seated on a pedestal and having the leg placed on *mahiṣa's* decapitated head.[1]

Strictly speaking Devī standing upon a *padmapīṭha* with attendants, offering *navakaṇṭham*, or without attendants could also be counted under the same head. Though there is a logical sequence to bring the typology under Mahiṣāsuramardinī, for other reasons we prefer the nomenclature Durgā. Let it be a separate variable.[2]

The duel between Devī and Mahiṣāsura appears in the caves of Māmallapuram for the first time (Pls. XIX, LII). The most outstanding among them are the Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa* and Atiranacaṇḍa-*maṇḍapa*. The form by way of Paṭṭadakkal, wherein a miniature is found, goes to Ellora and Bhokardān. Cave XVI of Ellora houses the next important image on the subject. Then comes a miniature in the Shore temple complex at Māmallapuram. Last of them is the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi piece (early 9th century A.D.) Devī in all these specimens is seated on her *siṁhavāhana, aṣṭabhuja*, holds the bow and arrow, mounted ready for a shot, and is attended by a number of her dwarf *gaṇas*. Mahiṣāsura in the Tamil circle is therioanthropic in form with a human body and buffalo-head. The Ellora art slightly deviates and has only the buffalo-horns, fitted to a human demon. Beginning with Udayagiri in Central India to Ellora in Western India, the tradition is to represent *mahiṣa* in zoomorphic and not anthropomorphic form. The change over in Ellora, of which the Kailāsa piece is an exception, should have felt the Tamil impact, of course moving via Paṭṭadakkal.

The second sub-variable in which Devī actually slaughters the demon is characteristic of Upper Deccan. In all these illustrations, the personality of Devī is projected prominently who holds the tail or snout of the beast and thrusts her *triśūla*, usually its shaft, into his neck violently. The form first gets stabilised in Udayagiri and moves into Upper Deccan. From there, it goes to Badāmī and Āihole where it gets petrified (Pls. IX, XXI, XXVII). Few appear in the Eastern Cāḷukyan zone at Alampūr and Advisomanapaḷḷi. In one of the Badāmī specimens, the Deccani and southern traditions find a harmonious mingling because the slaughtered demon is therioanthropic, the southern human and Deccani zoomorphic characters being united. The form in later medieval art appears in Tamil Nadu of which there are few Cōḻa specimen. Out of the 52 Mahiṣāsuramardinī images, 20 are of zoomorphic type found in Ellora, Badāmī, Aihole, Alampūr and Adviṣomanapaḷḷi. Mostly Devī is *aṣṭabhuja*, few *caturbhuja* and rarely *ṣaṭbhuja*. The usual weapons are *triśūla, khaḍga, kheṭaka, dhanus, śaṅkha* and *cakra*.

The third sub-variable is the *sthānaka*-Devī, posted upon *mahiṣa's* decapitated head (Pls. XL.2, LI, LIX). The form thematically relates to the post-slaughter scene after completing that Devī stands triumphantly on the beasts's head to proclaim her victory. It is a ritual image, meant for worship because in the form Devī is supposed to be full of peace and devoid of revengeful qualities. The type of *sānta* (or *uttama*) images alone could be installed in civilian quarters for worship. It may be the reason why it is so popular in the Tamil country. Ugramūrtis are not to be enshrined in habitable zones as they are believed to shed the fire of virulence that may cause hardships to residents of a place. The earliest specimen appears in Māmallapuram (Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha*). Other specimen are found at Takkōlam, Ciṅkāvaram, Kuṉṉakkuṭi and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. The northward movement of the form is upto Alampūr of which a rare specimen is found in the museum. Mostly the images are *samapāda-sthānaka* and rarely *tri* or *ati -bhaṅga*. The hands are usually four and in the early specimens eight (e.g. Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha*). The *parahastas* hold the *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. One of the original hands is in protection assuring posture that indicates the benign nature of the goddess. It is definitely a Tamil idiom which has sent its roots upto Alampūr. Of the 13 specimens present in Tamil Nadu 8 are of the present type.

The fourth sub-variable illustrates the seated aspect of which the only piece is found in the Kailāsa of Kāñci. But for the seated aspect, there is no other remarkable change. It shows that in Tamil Nadu the theme has continued to progress till the late 7th century A.D. The image is *aṣṭabhuja*.

It may be observed here that the Central Indian tradition of the slaughter of Mahiṣa is based on the *Devīmahātmyam* version. In Tamil Nadu, the literary theme seems to have interacted with a local variation of the Goddess, called Koṟṟavai, who ultimately gets united with Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The process of syncretism, earlier noted by Iḷaṅkō in *Cilappatikāram*, reaches the final stage of its development during the 7th-8th centuries A.D. Koṟṟavai, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Durgā get mixed up in this vortex of historical development with the effect that the individualiticies of the typologies are lost in the historical mist.[3]

Another point is the alignment of these images within the architectural format of the caves or structural temples *vis-à-vis* other iconographical typologies. The normal pattern, based on the Udayagiri prototype, is that Mahiṣāsuramardinī is posted face to face with Gaṇapati (e.g. Caves XVI and XVII adjunct to XXI of Ellora, Bhūtanātha complex in Badāmī, Moghulrājapuram Cave IV-miniature cella, and the Tiruchirāppaḷḷi lower cave). From Udayagiri to Tirucci, it is a common pattern while other modes of a pan-Indian character are found. For example, in Cave I of Badāmī, Devī is attended by Skanda and Gaṇapati which is repeated in the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave. Besides, Devī and Skanda are found face to face with each other in the main Cave XXI of Ellora while in the *Rāvaṇaphaḍi* of Aihole, Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa* and Varāha-*maṇḍapa* of Māmallapuram, and Kailāsa of Kāñci the place of Skanda is replaced by Varāhamūrti, Śeṣaśāyī, Gajalakṣmi and again Gajalakṣmī respectively. Mahiṣāsuramardinī herself is replaced by Caṇḍikeśvara in the Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and several of the Bhairavakoṇḍa caves. At Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, Devī's image is subjoined by Harihara and Skanda while Gaṇapati appears at another section of the wall, linking the Sapta Mātṛkas with that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

All these patterns of alignment are interesting and need to be further explored to find out their significance. The original mode, appearing in Udayagiri and repeated in Ellora, Badāmī, Moghulrājapuram and Tiruccirāppaḷḷi would point out the fact that it was the pan-Indian type. Gaṇapati may be present on the scene to remove the obstacles that the Mother may come across while engaged in an arduous job. Skanda and Gaṇapati, attending on the Goddess, is after the *Devīmahātmyam* version wherein Devī is followed by her sons and also husband, Śiva. The mode appears in Badāmī I, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi. The fact why Caṇḍikeśvara replaces Devī, being aligned to Gaṇapati, is an interesting problem that remains to be resolved. Similarly, is the question relating to Bhūvarāha in Aihole and Gajalakṣmīs in Māmallapuram and Kāñcīpuram. The other mode in Māmallapuram, viz., Devī and Śeṣaśāyī juxtaposed, has been very well explained by K.R. Srinivasan with due reference to Madhu-Kaiṭabha-*vadham* in *Devīmahātmyam*.

In the late Pallava structural temples (e.g. Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam, Takkōlam and Tiruttaṇi) Devī occupies the left *devakoṣṭha*, facing the north in case the temple faces east. The norm gets stylised in the Tamil country and is repeated till the Vijayanagara time sporadically. Devī being the Victor of Mahiṣāsura, a devotee who adores her facing the south side (i.e., to worship her one has to face the south when Devī faces north) that is the direction of death. Devī assures protection from death and gives longevity.

Siṁhavāhini:

Siṁhavāhinī is one who has a lion vehicle. Obviously, the thematic idiom relates to the *Devīmahātmyam,* which says that Devī proceeds to the battlefield to slay Mahiṣāsura astride her *siṁhavāhana*. Basically, Siṁhavāhinī is Mahiṣāsuramardinī. There are few specimens in Upper and Lower Deccan of which the most outstanding is in Cave XIV at

Ellora. Six specimens are found in the Far South. Among them, those in the Kailāsanātha at Kāñci are unique, quantitatively, thematically and stylistically.

Devī in the form is either seated on or standing by the side of her lion mount. She is sixteen handed in one, ten in another and in one *dvibhuja*. If seated, she is in *vīrāsana* or *mahārājalīlāsana* or *lalitāsana*. Usually she holds the *triśūla, khaḍga, dhanus, kheṭaka, śaṅkha* and *cakra* that point out the affinity of the iconographical typology with Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Being numerically superior in Tamil Nadu and found present in a late 7th century temple at Kāñci, the form is likely to have been a local innovation, which like the 'duel type' of Mahiṣāsuramardinī had sent its roots as far as Ellora.

Sapta Mātṛkas:

Beginning with Udayagiri and going down to Tirukōkarṇam, there are a number of places that houses images of the Mātṛkas. The speciality in Udayagiri is that some of them are found in subsidiary cave-adjuncts as in Ellora (Caves XVI and XXII). There are so many specimens in Lower Deccan but non *in situ*, excepting the *Rāvulaphaḍi* cave.

Totally there are 27 specimens, most of them found among the stray collections of the museums in Lower Deccan. Next, the Upper Deccan stands in order of priority, the total specimens being 8. The Far South is at the bottom of the list but many of them here are better preserved and found *in situ*. Spoken with reference to Udayagiri, it is possible, the theme first had its encounter with Ellora and from there moved into the deep south by way of Aihole and Alampūr.

The Mātṛkas are by and large seated and rarely standing or dancing. There seems to be an uniformity in the way that they are arranged but for occasional deviations. The following graphic arrangement may serve to point out the arrangement pattern:

Place	*Order of the Mātṛkas*						
Ellora XIV	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
XVI	B	M	K	Vn	A	Vr	C
XXI	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
XXII	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
Auraṅgābād	B	M	K	A	Vn	Vr	C
Takli Ḍhokeśvara	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
Kāñci	B	A	M	Vn	Vr	K	C
Tiruttaṇi	B	C	Vr	K	A	Vn	M
Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
Tirukōkarṇam	B	M	K	A	Vn	Vr	C
Tiruppattūr	B	M	K	Vn	Vr	A	C
	11	9	9	8	7	6	10

Abbreviations: B. Brahmī, M. Maheśvarī, K. Kaumārī, Va. Vaiṣṇavī, Vr. Varāhi, A. Aindrī and C. Cāmuṇḍā.

Though these are modifications in the order of the Mothers, they uniformly begin with Brahmī and end with Cāmuṇḍā. The usual mode is B-M-K-Vn-Vr-A-C. The Tiruttaṇi order is completely different excepting the starting point, which means the rearrangement has been mistakenly done, maybe by priests when the temple was renovated. In Kāñcīpuram there is change but it could be explained because the impressions are not original, being plastred recently. At the time of renovation, maybe 200 years ago, due to the faded condition of the images, some errors have crept into the remodelling. Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi falls in line with the general mode of arrangement with the Ellora prototype that represents the original order of the Mātṛkas and points out the fact that there was no disagreement between the North and South in fixing the order of the Mothers.

The seated posture shows no uniformity, excepting the Far South where they are mostly in *lalitāsana* (e.g. Tirukōkarṇam and Māmallapuram). Several of the stray pieces in Lower Deccan are of the type. In Ellora, they are according to their whyms and fancies and do not subscribe to any standardized scheme. In the same panel, they appear in different modes (e.g. Cave XIV & XXI). They adopt *mahārājalīlāsana, lalitāsana, vīrāsana* and *padmāsana*.

The totemic emblems (mounts) show uniformity. They are *hamsa* for Brahmī, *mayūra* for Kaumārī, *garuḍa* or *garuḍa-puruṣa* for Vaiṣṇavī, *nandi* for Maheśvarī and *gaja* for Aindrī. Cāmuṇḍā is usually associated with *preta* or devil (e.g. Takkōlam), and at times owl (Ellora XIV), dog (Ellora XVI) and jackal (Takli Ḍhokeśvara). Varāhī has the *varāha* emblem (Ellora XIV & XVI) or lion (Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi).

Brahmī is usually polycephalous with three heads and at times unicephalous. Varāhī usually has the sow-face or is marked by the *varāha* emblem. Cāmuṇḍā in Upper and Lower Deccan is usually emaciated and has dishevelled hair. She is made terrific by being fitted with a *kapālamālā* and *kapāla* on the headgear. In the Far South, she is full of flesh and blood and wears a *caṭaimuṭi* (e.g. Māmallapuram and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi) as at Alampūr (Bāla-Brahmā).

The Mātṛkas, befitting their motherly status, are found fondling babies in some of the illustration in Upper Deccan (e.g. Ellora XIV & XXI). The idiom fails to appear in the Far South.

The *āyudha* emblems in respect of the Mātṛkas are of uniform pattern. Brahmī is endowed with the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*, Maheśvarī *triśūla*, Vaiṣṇavī and Varāhī *śaṅkha* and *cakra*, Aindrī *vajra* and Cāmuṇḍā *triśūla* and *ḍamarū*. Some of the Mātṛkas at times wear the *cannavīra* (e.g. Kaumārī at Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi), being the *aide de camp* attending on Devī.

Sarasvatī (Pls. XVIII, LV):

Totally 13 specimen are traceable of which 9 are from Upper Deccan and 3 from the

Far South. The most outstanding pieces are from Ellora and found in the early Cāḷukyan caves. The form is likely to have taken its origin there and migrated to the Far South by way of Mahākūṭa wherein the only specimen is spotted in Lower Deccan. The three centres are Ellora, Mahākūṭa and Kāñcīpuram.

Most of the specimens in Ellora are miniautres. Three of the life size images are found in Caves XV, XVI (left corridor) and XXII. The images are both seated and standing. The seated images in Caves XV and XXII are placed on *padmāsanas* in *lalitāsana* posture. The *sthānaka* image in Cave XVI and several of the miniatures are *samapāda*. The hands are four in case of the life size ones and two in miniatures. The Goddess holds the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū*. She at times holds the *padma* and in one the *puṣtaka* (? Cave XXII).

The Kāñcīpuram specimens do not deviate from the Deccani tradition in as far as the *pratimālakṣaṇa* aspects are concerned. In addition to the usual emblems, Devī exhibits the *ñānamudrā*.

The placement of Sarasvatī images is of some interest, which shows some pan-Indian character. Sarasvatī is mostly a Goddess attending on a male Superior. For example, in Caves XV and XXII of Ellora she occupies the right *koṣṭha*, adjoining the *garbhagṛha*. In the corresponding left *koṣṭha* Gajalakṣmī appears. In case of the Kailāsa at Kāñci, Sarasvatī and Gajalakṣmī appear attending on Umāsahitamūrti. The alignment is very clear as both Sarasvatī and Gajalakṣmī are supposed to be subordinate ones, attending on Śiva-Mahādeva.

The Mahākūṭa specimen is a stray piece, which has been housed in a small cella. It may be a later fixation as we do not come across any image of the Goddesses of Viṣṇu-Brahmā lineage being housed in the *garbhagṛha*. The Mahākūṭa piece is iconographically an advanced one because in addition to her usual emblems, *puṣtaka* and *akṣamālā*, the goddess also holds the *pāśa* and *ṭaṅka*, emblems characteristic of Śiva-Śakti.

Gajalakṣmī (Pls. XVI.1, XXXIII.1, XLVIII.1, LIV.1, LV.1):

Gajalakṣmī, the Devī attended by elephants, is one of the most familiar idioms with Indian cave temple art ever since the days of its inception. The Buddhist and Jain caves in various parts of India (e.g. from Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa to Ellora in the West) house the motif. Falling in line with the inter-religious tradition, several of the structural temples in Aihole house the motif atop the doorjams of *garbhagṛha*. Being an auspicious symbol, it appears in almost all zones of early medieval art, especially Aihole.

In the Far South and Upper Deccan the artists have attached an importance to the form by projecting Devī as a Cosmic symbol. For example, in the *dvāra* (*gopura*) of Cave XVI at Ellora, Gajalakṣmī opens the way to the holy of the holies. A similar motif appears in the Laṅkeśvara. Another dilapidated piece appears in Cave XXVI. In Cave XXI, Yoninilayā appears who is popularly called Lajjāgaurī.[4] The seated posture in respect of the form, exposing the *yoni* symbol, is the same as in the Gajalakṣmī images of Māmallapuram and

Kāñcīpuram. Linking the Ellora and Māmallapuram variations, it may be suggested that the *yoni* symbol itself is auspicious.

Excepting the miniatures of Aihole of which more than a dozen are found (e.g. the Jyotirliṅga group), there are 12 outstanding specimen, majority of them from the Far South. Though the quantitative output in the Far South is better than Upper Deccan, the fact that it has had its origin in the North could not be disputed with due reference to the Buddhist-Jain prototypes.

Iconographically, the Goddess is *dvibhuja* and holds the lotuses. They are uniformly seated on *padmāsanas*, the fully blossomed lotus. In Ellora the seated posture is *padmāsana* and in the Far South uniformly *pralambapāda*. The latter mode is usually adopted by images of *dhyāni*-Buddhas which would attest the fact that the motif is of Buddhist origin and adapted by other artists. The stalk of the plant and lotus buds, appearing below the *padmapīṭhas* in Tamil Nadu are again positive indicatiors of the Buddhist idiom. The theme has been cast into two colossal panels in Ellora whose replica are found in the two Varāha-*maṇḍapas* of Māmallapuram. The southern most extension of the theme is upto Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam.

Its placement in several of the cave and structural temples is such that Devī appears at the door level, pointing out her *dvāravāsinī* status. The two Ellora models (main Cave XVI and Laṅkeśvara) are good examples. In the Kailāsa of Kāñci, a similar pattern is discernible. There seems to be a parallelism between images of Yoninilayā (Ellora XXI) and Gajalakṣmī of Tamil Nadu, the latter placing her in *garbhagṛha*.

Āsana-Devī (Pl. XXXVIII.2):

Totally five specimens are found, two each from Upper and Lower Deccan and one in the Far South. These images are of the Śiva-Śakti character and demand attention.

RANDOM FACTORS

The random factors are Durgā, Aṣṭa Mātṛkas, Kālī, Yoninilayā and Yogīśvarī. Of them Durgā appears in the Far South and Upper Deccan, Yogīśvarī in the Far South and Lower Deccan while the rest appear in Upper and Lower Deccan. The total number of specimens under the head is 25 (14.9%).

Durgā (Pls. XLVII.1, L, LXVI):

Totally seven specimen are found of which six are from Tamil Nadu and one from Jogeśvarī. The Jogeśvarī specimen is not clear enough to identify properly. It is not sure whether she is Durgā or any other standing form of Devī. By and large the specimens are found mostly in Tamil Nadu and so a regional variation of the theme.

Durgā actually speaking is a form of Devī in her Mahiṣāsuramardinī aspect. The third sub-variable, listed under Mahiṣāsuramardinī, at one stage makes a departure from the original mode and represents Devī, standing on a *padmapīṭha* instead of the *mahiṣapīṭha*. The former type of pedestal is an excuse for the latter as it has been pointed out with reference to the fact that Devī even while engaged in fighting with Mahiṣāsura stands upon the *padmapīṭha* in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave. We prefer to call the form Durgā with due reference to a cue provided the *Devīmahātmyam*. The *śilpaśāstras* and most art historians have considered both forms one and the same. In fact, Devī is Durgā for slaying a demon, called Durgama.[5] One who slaughters Mahiṣāsura is Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Both can not be one and the same. Again, it is stated in the *Devīmahātmyam* that the slaughter of Durgama is to take place in future and so Durgā could not be presented in visual representations in the fighting mode. She is a Sāntamūrti who stands like Mahiṣāsuramardinī peacefully. The subtle difference between the two could be the *pīṭha*. One who stands on *padmapīṭha* may be called Durgā.[6]

Of the seven specimens, five are found in Māmallapuram (Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Draupadī-*ratha*), the rest in Tiruttaṇi and Tiruccirāppaḷḷi. All are *samapāda-sthānaka* images. Devī is *caturbhuja* and holds the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in *parahastas*. The original hands exhibit the *ūruhastas* and *abhayamudrā*. It is interesting to note that the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* piece includes motifs of lion and antelope as we find them in Mahiṣāsuramardinī images of Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* at Māmallapuram and the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave. The *Cilappatikāram* calls such a form *kalaiamarcelvi* or Koṟṟavai. The Sanskritic channels differentiate Durgā from Mahiṣāsuramardinī with due reference to the destined avocation, attributed to both. There is some inconsistency in making out the subtle variations between the two with reference to the Tamil quota of thought. Reserving the question for further investigation, it may be added that the type of *samapāda-sthānaka* images, not associated with the *mahiṣapīṭha*, may be called Durgā. The regional idiom is found only in the Far South, most specimens being concentrated in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region and one in the deep south.

The image was a cult object as found in the cella of the Draupadī-*ratha*. The entire monolith in the case is a form of Virāṭśakti (*supra*) (Pl. XLIII).

Aṣṭa Mātṛkas (Pls. X, XI):

It falls under the common variable, Mātṛkas, but makes a departure from the original stock by virtue of the eighth member. It is a very rare factor numerically speaking but found present in Upper and Lower Deccan. The centres are Elephanta and Aihole. In both cases, it is difficult to identify the eighth member. In respect of Elephanta, K.V. Soundararajan has suggested that the eighth member could be the feminine counterpart of Kubera with reference to the emblems *dhvaja* and *vimāna*. It is a point for further consideration because Vīrabhadra in Tirukōkarṇam holds a *dhvaja*-like object in his *parahastas*. In Aihole the Mātṛkas neither hold any emblem nor bear the totemistic symbols. Though there are references to the feminine counterparts of several male gods in ritual texts (*supra*, ch. I), paradoxically, they do not find their figurative illustrations. Even among the Aṣṭa Mātṛkas of later medieval times, Nṛsiṁhī was an important figure but we have no evidence of this Mātṛka among the early medieval plastic works.

Kālī (Pls. XV.1, XXX.1):

Totally four specimens are found of which three are from Upper Deccan and one from Lower Deccan. Spoken with reference to the numerical concentration in Ellora we may suggest that the form originated first in the highlands of the Deccan and percolated into the lowlands. Mahākūṭa is the only centre in the core Cāḷukyan zone. We have a similar piece in Alampūr but it gets closer to Cāmuṇḍā and so treated as a separate variable.

The typology is usually *sthānaka* and *dvibhuja*. Kālī appears in the company of Kāla and never found alone. She holds no emblems in hands. She is emaciated, skeleton-like; has eyes bulging out of their cavities, has pendant breasts and is crooked. As appearing in the *gopura* of the Mahākūṭa temple, the image has a Tantric orientation but in Ellora the alignment is different. In Ellora (Caves XIV & XXI) the images are juxtaposed to the Sapta Mātṛkas and appear in a corner of the cave (south-western), facing east.

Yoninilayā (Pls. XXIII, XXIX.1, XXXV):

Totally there are eight images of which six appear in Lower Deccan. There are many sub-variables of which few appear in Lower Deccan. Its origin may be Aihole from where it spreads in various directions, reaching the acme of ritual significance in Ellora.

Thematically speaking, the most popular and earliest seems to be the recumbent image. Devī in the form is nude, reclining, facing upwards as placed on a square plank in birth position, the legs spread out but drawn up laterally and bent at knees having the soles upward. In view of its position, Stella Kramrisch calls her "Aditi-uttānapād"[7] and H.D. Sankalia "Shameless Woman" (Skt. Lajjāgaurī).[8] Such images are found in huge numbers in the Lower Deccan at Badāmī, Aihole and Alampūr. One of the type is housed in the cella of a cave at Ellora. Similar images are reported to have existed in the various parts of India of which Mahārāshtra seems to have been the abode. Even now such an image is found worshipped at Tārācuram (Kuṁbhakōṇam in Tañcāvūr, Tamil Nadu).

From the basic form, the variables went on multiplying till the late medieval times as it was important in folk orgies.[9] In Ellora itself, the deviation in which Devī is seated on a pedestal in a similar posture and exposing the *yoni* symbol is found. In Aihole two men stand nearby and find their phalluses erect that the Goddess holds in her hands.

In the Far South the theme seems to have been represented in another mode. Taking its roots in the *pralambapāda* of Gajalakṣmīs in Māmallapuram and Kāñcipuram, it acquires a definitive shape in Jyeṣṭhā at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. The latter is dated in A.D. 773-74 (*Kali* 3874).

All are related to the same concept, i.e., worship of *yoni*. These are variations of

Yoninilayā. The *Lalitāsahasranāma* concept of the *śakti-kuṭa* applies in the case of all. The fact that they are *dvāravāsinīs* could not be disputed. The Yoninilayā of the Jogeśvarī group of caves in Ellora, the second type found lodged at the Nandi-*maṇḍapa* section of Cave XXI at Ellora, Jyeṣṭhā housed in one of the *garbhagṛha* of the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam cave temple and several other factors confirm the view that the form commanded cult value during the early medieval period.

Yogīśvarī (Pl. XXIX.2):

Totally four specimens are present, two each in Lower Deccan and the Far South. The two specimens in the Far South are from the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci wherein we also come across most of the Siṁhavāhinī images. Our earlier generalization that it is related to the Mahiṣāsuramardinī theme holds good. On the basis, it may be stated that the form like Siṁhavāhinī had its origin in the Far South and migrated to Upper Deccan. It is interesting to note that though the classical works on Yogīśvara are the colossal pieces of Elephanta and Ellora, none of his feminine counterpart is to be found there. In framing the iconographical features of Yogīśvarī, the Tamil artists could have been guided by the Elephanta male prototype.

The Goddess is seated and *caturbhuja*. She holds the emblems of Śiva-Śakti in the back hands while the original hands are in the meditative posture.

The juxtaposition of a type of the image with Siṁhavāhinī in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci is highly suggestive. It points out the fact that the first variable under Mahiṣāsuramardinī is not Siṁhavāhinī but Yogīśvarī.

RARE FACTORS

The total number of variables are11 and the specimens 23. Of the variables five are present in Upper Deccan and 3 each in the Far South and Lower Deccan. Of the specimens 13 are from Upper Deccan, 6 Far South and 5 Lower Deccan. Numerically, Jyeṣṭhā, Gaṅgā and Yamunā top the list. There are four each under the heads. Then comes Cāmuṇḍā, *Kumārasaṁbhava, sthānaka*-Devī and Subhadrā. There are two each under the heads. Others are Naṭeśvarī, Bhuvaneśvarī and Sonabhadrā, each one.

Jyeṣṭhā (Pls. LIV.2, LXI.3, LXVII.2):

Of the four specimens, two are from Kāñci, one from Vallam and one from Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. Spoken with reference to the numerical concentration in the Toṇḍaināḍu area, the form may be supposed to have percolated into the deep south from Vallam via Kāñci. Chronologically, the earliest is Vallam, the next being Kāñci and third Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam.

Iconographically, the images are uniformly seated in *pralambapāda* attitude. They are *dvibhuja* and hold no symbols or rarely carry buds of lotus (e.g. Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam). The location of the image in the Vallam cave is of some importance as she is juxtaposed to Gaṇapati, thus taking the place of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. In the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam cave the Goddess is housed in the *garbhagṛha*. It is to attest the cult value of the image. The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam inscription notes her importance. Jyeṣṭhā, in later ages came to be treated as an inauspicious Goddess, the other side of Lakṣmī and treated as her elder sister. The cult value commanded by her during the early periods down to Cōḷā would point out, originally there was no stigma attached behind her cult.

The fact that she occupies an equal status with Gaṇapati, Vigneśvara 'god of obstacles' may suggest that she along with Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Caṇḍikeśvara and Gajalakṣmī could have commanded a ritual value.

River Goddesses (Pls. XVI.2, XXII.2):

Gaṅgā and Yamunā normally go together. Sonabhadrā joins them in the Kailāsa at Ellora. Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear at the *façade* level in Cave XXI of Ellora. They are also found in Laṅkeśvara of XVI Ellora and Takli Ḍhokeśvara.

Totally there are three twins and a triplet. It suggests that the River Goddesses are an indivisible entity. Sonabhadrā appearing with the other two is to be found only in the Kailāsa of Ellora. Interestingly enough, they are housed in a separate chapel as are the Mātṛkas. Otherwise, their position was like that of *dvārapālikās* as found in Laṅkeśvara and XXI of Ellora.

The idiom is mostly confined to the Ellora caves and appears at Takli Ḍhokeśvara, pointing out its extension within the Upper Deccan plateau.

Cāmuṇḍā (Pl. XXXVII.2):

Of the two specimens, one is found in the Bāla-Brahmā temple at Alampūr and one in Paṭṭadakkal. Both seem to be stray pieces. It is evident from the way that the image has been housed in the Alampūr temple.

The iconographical features of the image do not make any radical departure from the way she is aligned with the Mātṛkas. It may be suggested that these are stray pieces who perhaps originally formed part of the Mātṛkas were disturbed from their location, and later reinstalled. It is not clear whether they could be treated on a par with the rare Vaiṣṇavī found in the Mukteśvara temple at Kāñci.

Kumārasaṁbhava (Pl. XXXVI.2):

The two rare pieces are from Badāmī and Aihole. The Badāmī miniature is narrative in character. The Aihole piece is life size and stands on a par with the *Kiratārjuniyam* in Māmallapuram. These two pieces add to the variables and account for the popularity of classical Indian literary works like the *Kumārasaṁbhava* of Kālīdāsa and *Kiratārjuniyam* of Bhāravi.

Sthānaka-Devī:

It is a variable that gets closer to *Āsana*-Devī. There are two specimens from Ellora. Śaiva images of the type are found in huge numbers in the Kailāsa of Ellora and Virūpākṣa of Paṭṭadakkal.

Subhadrā:

She forms part of the Yādava-Trimūrtis and never appears independently. Only two specimens are traceable, from Ellora and Bhokardān. Being a subregional idiom, it is difficult to trace its origin and percolation. Perhaps, the Yādavas (*gopa-gopīs*) attached much importance to the form in their cult system in and around Ellora.

Naṭeśvarī:

The only specimen is from Aihole. Being a miniature, it may be understood that it was in its rudimentary stage of development. It could not be definitively stated whether Naṭeśvarī persisted during the subsequent times as it happended in the case of the Naṭarāja images in Tamil Nadu. Ritual texts view Devī as Naṭeśvarī who performs the cosmic dance at the *mūlādhāracakra* as custodian of the *pañcakṛtyas.*[10] The Aihole miniature is our only evidence to prove the ideology. Several of the cosmic forms of Devī such as Yoninilayā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī join with Naṭeśvarī to confirm the Cosmic character of Devī as propounded in liturgical works, e.g., the *Devīmahātmyam*, *Lalitāsahasranāma* and *Saundaryalaharī*.

Bhuvaneśvarī (Pl. LXVIII):

She is an interesting corollary to the Naṭeśvarī of Aihole. The Goddess is present in the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam caves, enshrined in a small chapel, occupying the *garbhagṛha*. An iconographical marvel of the age, the only piece is from Tamil Nadu in which a cavacade of gods and goddesses attend on Devī and attest her Cosmic character.

CONSOLIDATION

Though the total number of variables under the Devī theme is 22 (Table IV), several of them could be brought under clusters. Under the cluster analysis, as already proved by the above discussion, many constitute a group. For example, under Mahiṣāsuramardinī, even though the theme has its own sub-variables, forms such as Yogīśvarī, Siṁhavāhinī and Durgā could be blended. Similarly, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sonabhadrā could be brought under a common variable, called River Goddesses. It is because of their interdependence and iconographically not projected independently. The Aṣṭa Mātṛkas is an elaboration of the Sapta Mātṛkas concept, and the independent representations of Cāmuṇḍā and Vaiṣṇavī may have to be viewed from a reserved circle. Totally 14 integrated variables are treceable of which five are rare. The conspicuous variables are nine.

When compared with Viṣṇu and Śiva, Śakti finds a major change over in the cult system of the South. That is to say, majority of the specimens and variables appear in Lower Deccan and Upper Deccan though many of the variables are housed in *garbhagṛhas* in the Far South. It may be due to the fact that the Goddess tradition had its deep roots in the deep South rather than the North. Again the *Devīmahātmyam* that provided the root to most iconographical forms is the basic source behind iconographical developments. Though we have theoretical mandate in the South, such as the *Cilappatikāram* and *Saundaryalaharī*, their influence seems to have been limited when compared with the *bhakti* literature of the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmār.

Among the variables (as per table IV) Mahiṣāsuramardinī tops the list (31%, 52/168). Next come the Sapta Mātṛkas (16.1%, 27/168), Sarasvatī (7.7%, 13/168), Gajalakṣmī (7.1%, 12/168), Siṁhavāhinī (6%, 10/168), Yoninilayā (4.8%, 8/168) and Durgā (4.2%, 7./168). Other variables are of a minor character and go below 2% at the lowest. Out of the 168 specimens 61 (36.3%) are from Lower Deccan, 57 (33.9%) from Upper Deccan and 51 (30.4%) from the Far South. The difference is not conspicuous enough and yet the lowest percentage achieved by the Far South is a matter to reckon with.

Among the various centres Ellora tops the list with 47 specimens (28%); Kāñci 22 (13%), Aihole 21 (12.5%), Alampūr 18 (10.7%) and Māmallapuram 13 (7.7%) following the order of priority. Among the other noted centres are Badāmī 8 (4.8%), Mahākūṭa 7 (4.2%) and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam 4 (2.4%). Tīrupparaṅkuṉṟam is simply unique for housing Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Gajalakṣmī and Jyeṣṭhā in *garbhagṛhas*.

Another important perspective of the statistical analysis is that the quota of early medieval contribution to iconographical developments is minimal when compared with the literary output of the same age and the later *Śrītattvanidhi*. Even if all the sub-variables are taken into account, the ratio is between 22 (early medieval) and 137 (*Śrītattvanidhi*). The early medieval quota of contribution is 16.1% which points out the fact that Śakti iconography had a long way to go before reaching the final stage of its evolution. The percentage contrasts with Viṣṇu (22.6%) and Śiva (22.3%), which means that Śakti iconography was at its lowest ebb while Viṣṇu and Śiva were on equal footing. But the fact that all three had to march a long way to scale the summit of iconographical developments could not be denied. In respect of Devī's forms, enshrined in *garbhagṛhas*, the Far South is better than the two Deccans. We find Durgā (Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram), Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Ciṅkāvaram, Adviṣomanapaḷḷi and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Gajalakṣmī (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Bhuvaneśvarī (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Jyeṣṭhā (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam) and Yoninilayā (Ellora). We find six variables acquiring cult status.[11] The figure presents a good contrast with Viṣṇu[12] and Śiva[13] *vis-à-vis* the total number of specimens.

Thematically, most forms of Devī relate to her Cosmic character, falling in line with the literary perspective of the subject as illustrated in *Devīmahātmyam*, *Lalitāsahasranāma* and *Saundaryalaharī*. Other normal forms as in the Far South have felt the impact of regional ideas, the best example being *Cilappatikāram*. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Gajalakṣmī, Yoninilayā, Naṭeśvarī and Bhuvaneśvarī are good examples. Devī being called *pañcakṛtyaparāyaṇa*, the three basic functions of Creation, Maintenance and Destruction, are best illustrated through many of the iconographical forms. Yoninilayā is a good example for the Creative function of the Goddess. Naṭeśvarī is there. The Sapta Mātṛkas, fondling babies in Upper Deccan, are classical examples for the concept of sustenance. *Vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām* is the main function that as well applies to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Durgā, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā and of course the Mātṛkas are good examples.

Devī as the Cosmic Mother has been given a classical treatment in literary works of the pre-medieval times (e.g. Kālīdāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhava*). Interesting enough, the theme has received iconographical treatment in Lower Deccan. It adds an additional point to Devī's motherly status.

Above all the outward manifestations of Devī as *pañcakṛtyaparāyaṇa*, the fact that she was the all-pervasive Omnipotent and Omnipresent Cosmic Being is well illustrated through the Ardhanārīśvara of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. In such a respect, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, which houses images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Gajalakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā in *garbhagṛhas*, is simply unique in the entire range of early medieval Śākta cult and art. Towards the end, the ideas adumbrated by Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara seem have played a vital role.

REFERENCES

1. Raju Kalidos, "Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, 1989, p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.
3. For a critical analyṣis and discussion see my article, cited in the previous reference.
4. The inference would suggest the fact that Lajjagaurī and Gajalaksmī are equals.
5. *Devīmāhātmyam, Adhyāya* 11, vv. 49-50.
   Tatraiva ca vadhiṣyāmi Durgamākhyaṁ mahāsuram
   Durgādevīti vikhyātaṁ tarne nāma bhaviṣyati
   See my article in *Acta Orientalia* supra n. 1. The subject needs further study.
6. See my article in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50 pp. 14-15, 22-3.
7. Stella Kramrisch, "An Image of Aditi-uttānapād", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIX, 1956.
8. H.D. Sankalia, "The Nude Goddess or 'Shameless Women' in Western Asia, India and South East Asia", *Artibus Asiae*, XXI, 1958.
9. Childless woman used to apply butter at the *yoni* spot and eat the same with a view to beget children. In the Alampūr area the Mother is called Reṇukādevī by the folk and in Tārācuram

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF ICONOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES: CONSOLIDATED

Variables	Distribution pattern: zone-wise			Total
	Upper Deccan	Lower Deccan	Far South	
Mahiṣāsuramardinī	11	28	13	52
Siṁhavāhinī	3	1	6	10
Durgā	1	-	6	7
Sapta Mātṛkas	8	13	6	27
Aṣṭa Mātṛkas	1	1	-	2
Sarasvatī	9	1	3	13
Gajalakṣmī	4	*	8	12
Kālī	3	1	-	4
Yoninilayā	2	6	-	8
Āsana-Devī	2	2	1	5
Cāmuṇḍā	-	2	-	2
Vaiṣṇavī	-	-	1	1
Jyeṣṭhā	-	-	4	4
Yogīśvarī	-	2	2	4
Naṭeśvarī	-	1	-	1
Kumārasaṁbhava	-	2	-	2
Bhuvaneśvarī	-	-	1	1
Sthānaka-Devī	2	-	-	2
Subhadrā	2	-	-	2
Gaṅgā	4	-	-	4
Yamunā	4	-	-	4
Sonabhadrā	1	-	-	1
Total	57	61	51	168

* Several of the miniatures found in the temples of Aihole are not taken into account.

Cakrāyi or Cakkarattammaṉ. For a detailed account of the ritual offering see Raju Kalidos, "Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art", *East and West*, Vol. 40: 1-4.

10. *Vide.*, ch. I. R.K.K. Rajarajan has reported a dancing Pattiṉi Goddess image from the Colombo museum in the *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Vol. 13-14, 2000, pp. 401-14. The Naṭeśvarī from Aihole is one-breasted on the right side. She is linked with Pattiṉi. Rajarajan has contributed another article to the *Berliner Indologische Studien* in which he discusses the historiography of dancing Ardhanārīśvara with reference to a recent book on the theme by Ellen Goldberg.
11. Cf. Viṣṇu and Śiva *infra.*
12. They are *Sthānaka*-Viṣṇu (Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* at Māmallapuram), Ādimūrti (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave, west facing cella), Śeṣaśāyī (Uṇḍavalli, Ciṅkāvaram, Tirumeyyam, Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, Tiruttaṇkāl and other places), Bhūvarāhamūrti (Ādivarāhaviṣṇu-*gṛha* at Māmallapuram), Yoga Nṛsiṁha (Ciṅkapermāḷkōvil, Nāmakkal and Āṉaimalai), Sūryanārāyaṇa (two of the structural temples in Aihole) and Trimūrti (Ellora).
13. They are Somāskanda (Māmallapuram, Kāñcīpuram and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Irunilamkōḍu), Umāsahitamūrti (Pirāṉmalai, Tirumalai and other places), Ardhanārīśvara (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), *Sthānaka*-Śiva (Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*) and Vṛṣabhārūḍha (Māmallapuran, New temple). R.K.K. Rajarajan (1996) lists more variables, housed in model shrines. In the Udayagiri caves (no. IV) an image of Ekamukhaliṅga and in the Guḍimallam temple a prototype of Liṅgodbhavamūrti appear in the *garbhagṛha*.

CHAPTER VI

Reflections on Social Life and Aesthetic Trends

Śakti in Indian art and societal value is deeply rooted since very ancient times. The earliest traces of 'Mother Goddess' worship has been traced back to the third millennium B.C. by the scholar, Sir John Marshall, who discovered unmistakable evidences of the Goddess tradition among artefacts of the Indus culture.[1] The importance attached to the feminine principle in day to day life would point out the vital part played by the 'Mother' at various levels of the social structure. In certain societies (e.g. the Nāyars in Kerala) the property rights were determined by the matriarchal claims. At the religious level, the concept acquires a different shape and they believe that the Lord could be reached only through a supplication to the Mother. The ideology is best illustrated in the Vaiṣṇava hymns of the early medieval period of which the best example is the *Tiruppāvai* of Āṇṭāḷ.[2] The Mother is one who shapes and conditions masculine thoughts. She is basically the motivating factor behind all human actions. To quote Zimmer "Māyā (the Mother) is Existence: both the world of which we are aware, and ourselves who are contained in the growing and dissolving environment, growing and dissolving in our turn. At the same time, Māyā is the supreme power that generates and animates the display, the dynamic aspect of the universal Substance. Thus it is at once, effect (the cosmic flux), and cause (the creative power). In the latter regard it is known as *śakti* "cosmic energy". *Śakti* is 'power, ability, capacity, faculty, strength, energy, prowess; regal power, the power of composition, poetic power, genius' ...".[3] Thus, in Indian tradition the Feminine Principle came to be viewed as an expression of the cosmic structure, its cause and effect. She could create, sustain and destroy. She is the *śakti* who plays the tune of *kṛtyas* by manifesting herself through *iccha* 'wish', *ñāna* 'wisdom' and *kriya* 'action'. "*Śakti* is at once physical energy, sexual energy, mental energy and spiritual power. It is not quantitative, insofar as it cannot be reduced to measurable terms, nor is it strictly nonquantitative, in that it does enable being to be a dynamic being. According to medieval Hindu conception, *śakti* is that which motivates, is the moving force behind, all action. In universal terms, *śakti* is that which informs the creation of the world: it is the energy whose creative release as a play or sport (*līlā*) gives rise to the manifold things of the world. In individual terms, *śakti* is that which informs the pyscho-physical organisation of an organism: it is that energy which underlines as essence, and constitutes as form, the life-force or breath (*prāṇa*) which sustains an individual existence. *Śakti* is thus the energy which brings forth and maintains all life."[4] Alain Danielou would say "it (She) appears as the substance of everything, pervading everthing".[5] It is difficult to comprehend Śakti with reference to art, the reason being that the social processes have conditioned the evolution of art and aesthetics.

Art in Indian context being the handmaid of religion, art and aesthetics are interwoven with religious and social concepts. All go together. It is not possible to compartmentalize them within separate crucibles. If certain questions could be posed, it might be possible to trace the germs of *śakti* as rooted in society. For example, why the preeminence attached to Devī in art forms ? How do her visual forms, attributes and emblems express cognitive values ? How does the creative process of an art form takes place ? What idea does it convey or how the society responded to such forms ? which serve to cull out the sociological process of Śakti imagery in early medieval historical tradition.

SOCIAL VALUES

The data provided by Śakti icons prove beyond doubt that the 'woman' was to be a factor in the day to day life of the society. The social precepts had reached such a level that woman could not merely be treated as a domestic tool by man according to his whims and fancies. It has been proved by several of the iconographical typologies of the Śaiva order, the best being *ūrdhvatāṇḍavam*. Ardhanārī is a reconciliation, basically speaking, but a school of the Śāktas began to view the Androgyne as a feminine principle. It is to point out that the demand for an equal status was very much in the offing. All these were one side of the picture.

At another level, women in general were expected to be the abode of certain cherished behavioural qualities. These were considered the *lakṣaṇas* of ideal womanhood. For example, she should not, even if she is, claim herself superior to man within a family or social circle. She was expected to be chaste, both mentally and physically, and could never keep in mind anybody else but her husband. In the Tamil way of life four important characters were expected of a woman. They are *accam, maṭam, nāṇam* and *payiṟppu*. *Accam* is fear that which is natural for an inferior organism. For example, she should be afraid when about to be attacked by a lion whereas a man should not. *Maṭam* is simplicity, credulity or ignorance, more specifically a pretentious innocence. That is to say one may be intelligent but should not exhibit it outwardly. *Nāṇam* is coyness. *Payiṟppu* stands for an ideal feminine etiquette. It includes delicacy, modesty and abhorence. It relates to the established conventional behaviour of women, which usually is imparted to the younger generation by the elders by oral instruction. For example, the elder may say 'Do not sit when elderly men are present' or 'Donot argue with men' and the like. An ideal women was expected to adhere to these precepts assiduously.

Status of Women:

The male-female equal status presents a contrasting picture if we take into account two sets of illustrations: (1) the Female within a Male-superior subject, e.g., Devī within the Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel of Ḍumārleṇa in Ellora, and (2) the Female as slayer of a male *asura* in Cave I of Badāmī and also attended by male members of the pantheon, viz., Skanda and Gaṇapati. The myth behind the second form clearly points out Feminine Preeminence as she is supposed to have absorbed the qualities and powers of the male gods. It is also stated that none of the male god could do away with the demon. To ensure a success, Devī inebrates herself by consuming liquor according to the *Davīmahātmyam* which in orthodox family circles would have amounted to a serious violation of rules of household establishment. Devasoma of the *Mattavilāsa* illustrates Devī's bold adventure.

Devi's presence in the Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel is a good illustration of the classical feminine qualities of *accam, nāṇam, payirppu* and *maṭam*. As slayer of Mahiṣāsura, she gives up all these qualities. It is to prove the usurpation of the male ethos, which trend finds its rudiments in the writings of Iḷaṅkō and Śaṅkara. The deliberate motive behind the illustration is to show the preeminence of Female-power. Furthermore, the inactive Devī in Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel could convey some subtle implications. In that regard the presence of Kālī in the Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel in Cave XV of Ellora is a good example. It proves that Śiva without Śakti is powerless. When the Lord is engaged in an arduous battle with the demonic force, he is given life by the female. It may also be the reason why the Sapta Mātṛkas appear so in the Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel of Kailāsa (plinth section piece at Nandi-*maṇḍapa*). In such a case, the inactive Devī is present. The avowed meaning is Devī is not inactive as we are tempted to believe but watching the process. She may return to activity when the Male power is retarded. In making the generalization we keep in mind what Sītā does in the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*, assuming the form of Kālī.[6]

By about the 8th century A.D. a definitive school of Śāktas existed who believed in the all-pervasive character of the Mother. Earlier, the idea gets injected into the Indian society through the *Devīmahātmyam*. It is basically a book in praise of the Preeminently Supreme Feminine Principle. The underlining idea that women were claiming for equality of status with men could not be disputed. How far did an early feminist movement succeed ? is a point for consideration. At the theoretical level, not only equality but also superiority, seem to have been claimed. It perhaps provided the groundwork for further feminist movements during the later periods.

Several of the iconographical forms speak of the Mother superior idealogy. They are Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the Mātṛkas, Gajalakṣmī, Yoninilayā, Jyeṣṭhā, Naṭeśvarī and Bhuvaneśvarī. According to textual mandate the Devī who undertakes a venture against Mahiṣāsura and his team is Mahāsarasvatī or Mahālakṣmī. Thus, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī come into the picture. The architectural alignment and iconographical setting of forms like Yoninilayā (Cave XXI Ellora), Gajalakṣmī (Ellora XVI and its adjunct Laṅkeśvara), Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave) and Durgā (Draupadī-*ratha*) illustrate the concept that the microcosmic temple itself is a frozen symbol of the Mother superior ideology. The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north cave is a very good example in the context. Devī occupies the apex of a triangle of which Viṣṇu and Śiva, including Skanda and Gaṇapati, appear as subordinate factors. This along with the Draupadī-*ratha* enhances the view that Vāstupuruṣa himself is Feminine.[7]

The idea behind the whole process is explicit, i.e., exaltation of the Feminine Principle and sublimating her to the level of the Divine Super. In later medieval Tantric tradition placing a woman on par with the Supreme Mother was an accepted way of worship. In Tamil Nadu there was an ardent Śakta devotee called Abhirāmi-bhaṭṭar,[8] whose work *Abhirāmiantāti* is supposed to be a summary of Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī*. He is believed to have adored women, frequenting the temple. The earliest traces of the ideology are in the *Cilappatikāram* of Iḷaṅkō. In the *Veṭṭuvavari* section (*supra*, ch. I) the hunters decorate a girl, called Cāliṇi, as Koṟṟavai and offer her *pūjā*. It perhaps is the earliest South Indian exaltation of a women to divine status. It acquires a full-fledged form in Śaṅkara who in *Saundaryalaharī* fixes the galaxy of gods and goddesses within the physical framework of Devī and her attributes.

Motherly Stauts:

Devī is the Cosmic Mother. Several of the iconographical forms of Devi are explicit in the context. The classical representation of *Kumārasaṁbhava* in the plinth section of the Upper Śivālaya and the stray piece in Aihole museum are good examples. The Mātṛkas are another good example. Especially, in Upper Deccan several of the Mothers carry babies in their hands, which means they sustain the worlds as a mother and feed a baby with milk. Nagavardhana's Cāḷukya record exalts the Mothers as nourishers of mankind. The Yoninilayā of Badāmī and Alampūr again lend support to the concept. Devī is laid up in birth position, her stomach and breasts full. She is the cosmic threshold, the Brahmayoni,[9] and the custodian of all creative activities. Naṭeśvarī (Mallikārjuna temple, Aihole) performs the Dance of Bliss in the *mūlādhāracakra* of the Tantric cycle.

Being the Mother par excellence, there is no question of her being subordinated to any of the Male gods within the Śākta order. All other are subordinate to her.

Family Sense:

The family identity, traceable in respect of Śaiva imagery is missing in the Śākta tradition. The principle is there but the expression different. Though Śiva is great in his own way and within the Śaiva order, he never disregards Devī but the case with the latter is different. The family concept of the Śakti tradition mostly takes into account the children, i.e., Gaṇapati and Skanda. In the *Kumārasaṁbhava* in the Upper Śivālaya at Badāmī Śiva gets a place. Śiva is missing in the Aihole piece. Mahiṣāsuramardinī is mostly aligned with either Gaṇapati (Caves XVII of Ellora & Tirucci) or Skanda (Cave XVI of

Ellora) or both (Badāmī Cave I and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam). Harihara appearing in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi and Kuṉṉakkuṭi caves on an equal footing with Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a subregional idiom found around Putukkōṭṭai. The family sense within the Śākta tradition has a limited application. Spoken with reference to Somāskanda of the Śaivite order, the Śakti imagery is of an inferior quality, we may add, because there can be no family without the father, however great the mother and children may be.

Congregational Sense:

The Tantric orientation of the caves and structural temples in several of the places would point out the congregational sense of the Śākta cultists. The Yoninilayās of Cave XXI Ellora and Aihole (Ucchimalli-*guḍi*) include not less than three to five persons. The Aihole specimen is a typical *maithuna* piece, pointing out group sex. Similarly, in the Kont-*guḍi*, there is an excellent specimen of *maithuna*, giving clues of *cakrāsana* in Tantric orgies. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* declares that the *kāpālika* may change his spouse according to his will and pleasure. The *kāpālī* scolds the hero for misspelling her name into Somadeva instead of Devasoma. It happens due to the influence of intoxication but the *kāpālī* imagines that her man may have thought of another woman. It is to prove that the partners engaged in the Tantric mode of worship were not permanently wedded to one another and that they were socialistic in this regard. The literary motifs, along with the artistic idioms, prove the fact that the Tantricists had a group sense and perhaps their congregation was the family.

Dress, Ornaments Etcetera:

The images of the Goddesses mostly appear with a loin cloth, which is either short or long. The shorter ones are tucked to the hip and decked with ornaments like *mekhalas*. The type is found mostly in the Upper and Lower Deccan. The Aihole Mātṛkas (Rāvulaphaḍi) appear with a loin cloth, which is like a *muṇḍu*, tightly tugged to the hip. In the Far South nudity seems to be a common factor. Good examples are the Gajalakṣmī panels in the *Varāhamaṇḍapa* and Ādivarāhaviṣṇu-*gṛha*. Even the attendants in these cases appear stark nude. There is no upper cloth to cover the breasts. In the Far South the *kucabandha* is mostly added.

When compared with the meagre dress, ornaments present a luxurious picture. There are several types of *makuṭas* and headgears. Normally images of goddesses are to be endowed with *karaṇḍamakuṭas*. In actual usage we find *kirīṭa, karaṇḍa, jaṭā* and other types. There are regional peculiarities. The Mātṛkas of Aihole do not find their replica in other parts of the South.[10] Similarly in the Pallava zone a cap-like *karaṇḍamakuṭa* is a very popular idiom. It appears in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region, especially Māmallapuram and Kāñci, mostly in association with Gajalakṣmī and Jyeṣṭhā. Usually Cāmuṇḍā is without any *makuṭa* and has dishevelled hair, at times fitted with a *kapāla* atop the tuft. A good example is the Cāmuṇḍā in Bāla-Brahmā temple. In the Far South, a regional form appears. It is locally called *caṭaimuṭi*, mostly attributed to goddess-women. Samples are found in the Māmallapuram stray piece of Cāmuṇḍā and the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave.

The ears are normally bored and appear rarely pendant. A huge *patrakuṇḍala* is a common early medieval idiom. The best example is the Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Cave I Badāmī. Another good example is the Cāmuṇḍā of Alampūr. In the latter case, she wears a *pretakuṇḍala* with which the Cāmuṇḍā of Māmallapuram is decked. *Makara* and *vyālakuṇḍalas* are found throughout the South. The size, shape and ornamental designs vary from region to region but the basic form remains the same.

Several types of bangles, *kaṅkanas, keyūras* and *udarabandhas* are fitted with the images. The neck *ābharaṇas* are usually *mālās*. There are several types of them; some simple *ekāvali* and others with multiple threads, and designs, often fitted with gems. *Uttarīya* and *yajñopavīta* are commonly found. The *cannavīra* mostly appears in case of the warrior goddesses, e.g. the Mātṛkas and the Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Cave I Badāmī. Cāmuṇḍa in Māmallapuram and Alampūr (Bāla-Brahmā temple) wear *kapālamālās*.

The number of hands for the goddesses vary from four to sixteen and naturally several types of weapons are attributed to them. Some are typical of the goddesses. They are *triśūla*, either long or short, *śakti, pāśa, aṅkuśa, ṭaṅka* and so on. Besides, there are *khaḍga, kheṭaka, dhanus, bāṇa, śaṅkha, cakra, akṣamālā, kamaṇḍalū, vajra, nāga, ghaṇṭa, halā, kapālapātra, pūrṇakuṁbha, padma* and so on. Some of these emblems are typical of the goddesses. For example, the *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalū* are attributed to Brahmī, the feminine edition of Brahmā. Similarly, *vajra* for Aindrī, *śaṅkha* and *cakra* for Vaiṣṇavī are common pan-Indian symbols. Interestingly, the *khaṭvaṅga* fails to appear though the *kapālamālā* and *kapālapātra* are there. It is not clear whether the Cāmuṇḍā of Alampūr (Bāla-Brahmā temple) holds a *khaṭvaṅga* in her back left hand. The attendants waiting on Gajalakṣmī in Māmallapuram hold *pūrṇakuṁbhas*, which fail to appear in other regions. Many of the *āyudhas* are in *prayoga* attitude. Good examples are *cakra, triśūla, dhanus, bāṇa* and *khaḍga*.

In later medieval art usually the hands holding weapons are in *kartarimudrā* of a stereotyped pattern. The earliest trace of the idiom could be found in later Pallava sculpture. A good example is the Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Takkōlam. Similarly, the *kaṭakamudrā*, a pretension for holding *padmas*, profuse in later medieval bronzes, appears in case of Gajalakṣmī in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* of Māmallapuram. When the hands are in the multiples of four, several *mudrās* get associated with the hands. Thus *vismaya* (suggesting wonder), *tarjanī* or *sūci* (suggesting warning), *dhyāna* (meaning meditation), *abhaya* (protection assuring) and *ñāna* (promising wisdom) appear. *Āvāhana* (inviting) is a peculiar attribute of Śeṣaśāyī, which is applied to Brahmī in the Tirukōkarṇam cave. It is a *mudrā* typical of Tamil Nadu and fails to appear in the two Deccans. *Kaṭi* or *ūruhasta* is a common factor and mostly appears in the case of *sthānaka*-Mahiṣāsuramardinī in Tamil Nadu.

Images of the goddesses if seated are mostly placed on *padmāsanas* or *bhadrāsanas*. The *padmāsana* of Gajalakṣmī in Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* at Māmallapuram and Kailāsa of Kāñci is of special interest. In Ellora (Cave XVI and Laṅkeśvara) there is a water pool below the pedestal. Both symbolise live lotus as though the Goddess is seated on a primeval cosmic flower. Devī even while fighting with Mahiṣāsura stands upon a *padmapīṭha* in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi cave and the symbol perhaps serves as a motif to unravel the mysteries that engulf the personalities of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Durgā. Mahiṣāsuramardinī standing upon the *mahiṣapīṭha* is a regional idiom found in Tamil Nadu of which a stray piece appears in Alampūr.[11]

Devīs when seated have their legs arranged in different types of *āsanas*. The usual mode is that of *lalitāsana*, meaning a graceful seated posture. It is the counterpart of *sukhāsana* (seated comfortably), applicable to masculine images. The Mātṛkas are usually seated in different modes. Good examples are from Caves XIV and XVI in Ellora who are in *mahārājalīlāsana*, *virāsana*, *utkuṭikāsana* and *padmāsana*. Images of Gajalakṣmī and Jyeṣṭhā in the Far South are mostly in *pralambapāda* attitude. Several of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī images in Upper and Lower Deccan take the *pratyālīḍhāsana* or *ālīḍhāsana* attitude while standing.

Among the vehicles of the goddesses, *siṁha* 'lion' stands first. He (or she) is uniformly the mount of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in all parts of the South. Other forms of Devī, excepting the Mātṛkas, are not usually associated with vehicles. Varāhī takes the lion vehicle occasionally. *Hamsa* 'swan' for Brahmī, *nandi* 'bull' for Maheśvarī, *mayūra* 'peacock' for Kaumāri, *garuḍa* 'kite' for Vaiṣṇavī, *gaja* 'lion' for Aindrī and *preta* 'corpse', devil, dog or owl for Cāmuṇḍā are the other mounts meant for the goddesses.

AESTHETIC TRENDS

From the Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Udayagiri to the Jyeṣṭhā of Tiruparaṅkuṉṟam a number of images and forms of Devī are located. Though there are some stylistic variations, based on thematic considerations, the images of Devī show some common trends. The aesthetic appeal presents different shades of light as we find the common themes under varying topographical and cultural environs.

The theme chosen, the stone selected and the amount of labour put in determine the aesthetic quality of the work in addition to the dimensions of the images. Besides, the basic Indian approach to aesthetics such as *rasa* may determine the qualitative output.

According to the *Varāha Purāṇa*[12] each and every one of the Mātṛkas represent the evil mental qualities. Brahmī represents *mada* 'vanity', Maheśvarī *krodha* 'anger', Kaumārī *moha* 'illusion', Vaiṣṇavī *lobha* 'greed', Varāhī *asūya* 'envy', Aindrī *mātsarya* 'fault finding', Cāmuṇḍā *paisunya* 'tale bearing' and Yogīśvārī *kāma* 'desire'. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the unmanifested Devī takes the forms of Lakṣmī, Mahākālī and Sarasvatī who represent the *rājasa*, *tāmasa* and *sattva guṇas* respectively. At the time of cosmic creation, she is called Mahākālī, controls Brahmā and engages in *sṛṣṭi*. At the time of final destruction (*praḷaya*) she is called Mahāmārī. As sustainer of the worlds and giver of peace and plenty, she is Lakṣmi, Jyeṣṭhā is the elder.[13]

According to Indian tradition the aesthetic quality of visual arts are determined by the *aṣṭarasas*. They are *sānta* 'peace', *karuṇa* 'compassion', *śṛṅgāra* 'love', *vīra* 'valour', *hāsya* 'laughter', *adbhuta* 'wonder', *raudra* 'fury' and *bibhasta* 'loathsomeness'.

Traditional modes of *pratimālakṣaṇa* determine the classification of Devī images and identifying the mental quality of an image is complicated. For example, how to determine the mental qualities of the Mātṛkas ? when we find them uniformly exhibiting the same facial expression in many of the specimens. Perhaps with reference to their attributes and emblems, it may be possible but when none is found as in case of the Tirukōkarṇam piece, it is practically difficult to even earmark the names of the Mātṛkas.[14] The problem is not difficult in case of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Kālī as their *guṇas* could easily be determined. Kālī is a good example as found in the Rāksaṣa Gateway of Mahākūṭa, caves XIV, XV (Gajasaṁhāramūrti panel) and XXI of Ellora. The tāmasic aspect is legibly written on the face.

The iconographical variables (table IV) subscribe to certain of the *guṇāṁśa* aspects if viewed within the theoretical framework outlined above. Sarasvatī, Gajalakṣmī, Vaiṣṇavī and Bhuvaneśvarī are good examples of *sāttvika* images. Siṁhavāhinī, Durgā, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Jyeṣṭhā and Naṭeśvarī are of the *tāmasika* order. Yoninilayā, Yogīśvarī, *Kumārasaṁbhava* and the River Goddesses are evidences of *rājasika* type. Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a theme that may be taken to be an example to show the various mental qualities as the theme is dramatically illustrated. Beginning with Yogīśvarī, the several subvariables under the head represent the different stages of a dramatic performance. Yogīśvarī portrays *kāma* and basing on the quality-status the eighth Mātṛka of the Elephanta and Aihole (Rāvulaphaḍi) caves may be identified with Yogīśvarī. It may also serve to treat the stray Yogīśvarīs in Aihole with similar stray images of Cāmuṇḍā who all should be accounted under the Mātṛkas. Siṁhavāhinī is full of *raudra*, her inactive state of mind (i.e., *sānta*), having been provoked by the demonic demonstrations. She undertakes an expedition to punish them.

The Udayagiri type of Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a classical example for illustration of *vīra* and she herself shows qualities of *śṛṅgāra, hāsya, adbhuta* and *bibhaśta* in an effort to dislodge the demonic forces. Mahiṣāsura, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa and others were basically kindled by their desire to take possession of Devī and thus they show all the related qualities of *mada* (by an exhibition of their tremendous human power, viz., their physical strength[15] and armed flanks), *lobha* (when one is slaughtered, the other cultivates his desire for Devī), *asūya* (it is from here that their intoxication for Devī's beauty begins)[16] and the root cause of all *kāma*. The Māmallapuram classical treatment on the subject (Mahiṣāsuramardinī cave and Atiranacaṇḍa-*maṇḍapa*) dramatically illustrates a clash between the 'eight flavours' and the 'eight mental qualities'. One being (the eight flavours) the brighter side of life, the other is naturally the darker side (eight mental qualities). In worldly affairs there is a perpetual clash between these two of which the dark will have to be extinguished by an exhibition of the bright qualities. Both the phenomena stand opposed to each other:

mada 'vanity'	vs. *vīra* 'valour'[17]
krodha 'anger'	vs. *raudra* 'fury'[18]
moha 'illusion'	vs. *adbhuta* 'wonder'[19]
kāma 'desire'	vs. *śṛṅgāra* 'love'[20]
lobha 'greed'	vs. *karuṇa* 'compassion'[21]
asūya 'envy'	vs. *sānta* 'peace'[22]
mātsarya 'fault finding'	vs. *hāsya* 'laughter'[23]
paisuṇya 'tale bearing'	vs. *bibhasta* 'loathsomeness'[24]

Totally there are eight elements, clashing with each other. In both the Mahiṣāsuramardinī panels of Māmallapuram there are sixteen characters each, including the lion, Devī, Mahiṣāsura, and their retinue. The numerical concordance may show what actually goes on is a battle between the right and wrong that makes the wheels of earth rotate and animate cosmic activities. The underlining idea is *paritrānāya sādhūnām* and *vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām*, the *vacana* of an eternal conflict between good and evil. The symbolic undertone of a mythological idiom is perhaps pointed out by the *Varāha Purāṇa* (*supra*), which identifies the demonic mental qualities with the Mātṛkas who are themselves the tāmasic manifestation of Devī herself. Here, the basic dictum is 'blood for blood'. The evil qualities maybe overcome by their antidotes as illustrated in the table above or by their own counterparts of the brighter side (i.e., the Mātṛkas).

The stance of the images, the weapons attirbuted and *mudrās* exhibited may have something to do with the aesthetic denomination of the icons. Devī standing in *ālīḍha* or *pratyālīḍha* itself denotes the level of heroic action. Weapons such as the *cakra, khaḍga, dhanus* and *bāṇa* in *prayoga* attitude further enforce the heroic mode of action. *Mudrās* are typical of the expression of sentiments. *Vismaya* is wonder, *sūci* warning, *āvāhana* inviting and so on.

In addition to the śāstraic mode of aesthetic input, there were several other free going ideas. An artist never succumbs to rules and regulations blindly. The success of a piece of art depends upon the sculptor's ability to cast it effectively. In sofaras an image is meant for worship there is no mandate to make it aesthetically value oriented. A piece of shapeless mass of stone like the *liṅga* or *yoni* is a good example. When Yoninilayā is given a figurative shape by an artist of Badāmī or Alampūr, the contour lines that run between the thighs, hip, the gracious posture of the goddess and so on determine the aesthetic quality and speak of the artist's language.

An important factor noticeable in case of Śakti imagery is the volume of composition when compared with Śaiva themes. Not even a single image of Devī could stand on par with the Gajasaṁhāraṁūrti or Naṭarāja of Ḍūmārleṇa in Ellora. The Gajalakṣmī of Cave XVI in Ellora (Nandi-*maṇḍapa* piece) is perhaps an exception but even in this case the image of the Goddess does not occupy the entire frame as it is the case with Yogīśvara or Gajasaṁhāramūrti in the same cave, found nearby. The Sapta Mātṛkas of Caves XIV, XVI and XXI in the regard present a good comparison with those of Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi, Tirukōkarṇam and Takkōlam; the former group is robust while the latter effeminate. The Cāmuṇḍā of Māmallapuram is the only piece in the Far South, which stands on equal footing with the Kālī images of Ellora and Mahākūṭa. These images though terrific outwardly carry an inward message of compassion and love.

An important element of ideal womanhood found in the Far South is the hip. The classical Tamil prescription is *tuṭi-iṭai* (splinter-like hip). That is to say the hip has to be as slim as possible. The idiom is not found in any of the Deccani pieces, including Udayagiri. The Durgā of Varāha-*maṇḍapa* and Cāmuṇḍā at Māmallapuram are good examples that challenge comparison with specimens in other areas. Spoken with reference to the aesthetic prescription, the Durgā and Cāmuṇḍā images of Māmallapuram are far superior to several of the Mahiṣāsuramardinīs in Udayagiri and Ellora.

The medium selected adds a classical aesthetic quality to the image in certain circles. Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Cave I Badāmī and the Museum piece of Yoninilayā in the same place are good examples. The ochre colour of the stone is a thing of attraction that makes the piece a thing of beauty, which kindles the inner spirit of taste for art and thereby arouses piety also. In this respect, the works in Badāmī fall in line with the prototypes in Udayagiri. In the Far South the granite adds no such effect but in certain cases (for e.g. Durgā of Draupadī-*ratha*) the hard stones have been wrought into things of aesthetic appreciation by the sculptor's chisel. The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam pieces are other examples.

In Ellora the exuberant ornamentation adds the qualities of beauty from the Indian point of view. Especially the Matṛkas in Cave XIV and XXI acquire a classical flavour by virtue of their huge proportion and the amount of ornamentation put on. We find in them the later Hoysala spirit at a level of germination.

The organisation of the caves and format of monolithic temples in case of Śakti is a matter for aesthetic presentation. It is a factor that we fail to come across in case of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Draupadī-*ratha* is a good example for an abstraction of the concept of Vāstupuruṣa. Here it is Devī who appears in Virāṭ form, occupying the various sections of the temple in figurative aspect. The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam group (north) of caves are arranged in a rudimentary form of Śrīcakra. The concept had continued to evolve till the later Vijayanagara time so that several layers of interlacing triangles could be formed, the apex being occupied by Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The location of the shines for Gajalakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Jyeṣṭhā and so on command a valid pretext for identification of *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The pillars of later times house a number of erotic motifs which serve to confirm the fact that the Tantric way of approach in Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam has a medieval base.[25]

Tantricism was a factor that added to the aesthetic tenor of architecture and iconography in several of the early medieval centres. In addition to Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, Cave XXI of Ellora is a monumental example. The location of Yoninilayā in its case, in addition to that of the same theme in Ucchimalli-*guḍi* in Aihole and the presentation of a *cakrāsana* in a shrine of the Kont-*guḍi* are good illustrations to show that in addition to being auspicious symbols, *sarvamaṅgala*, they added a kind of aesthetic appeal to the early medieval community. The roots of Tantricism are to be traced to these sources. The iconographic evidence when compared with literary mandate (e.g. *Mattavilāsaprahasana*) opens the way to the revelation that consuming alcoholic drinks and engaging in sexual orgies may appear bizzare to those who view it so but from the cultists' point of view these formed the path of beauty that enabled the *jīvātma* to have a mingling with *paramātma*.

REFERENCES

1. Shivaji K. Pannikar, *Sapta Matrkas Worship and Sculptures*, Pls. 1-3.
2. For a detailed examination see Raju Kalidos, "The Tamil Concept of Bhakti with special reference to Tiruppāvai", Seminar Paper. Thanjavar 1990. See Vol. I 'Sources'.
3. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 25.
4. Eliot S. Deutsch, "Śakti in Medieval Hindu Sculpture", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1965, pp. 81-2.
5. Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, p. 253.
6. According to the later medieval version, Śrī Rāma after restoration to the throne of Ayodhyā, undertakes a venture against *Sahasramukha*-Rāvaṇa, a scion of the already killed *Daśagrīva*-Rāvaṇa, but is fallen in battle. The text adds that Rāma was virtually killed on the occasion. On seeing her husband dead, Sītā acquires the frightful form of Kālī and kills *Sahasramukha*-Rāvaṇa. Śiva and Brahmā attend on the Goddess on the occasion. A similar idea is incorporated in the *Mattavilāsapràhasana*. When the *kāpālika*, Satyasoma, falls down in an attempt to beat the Buddhist monk, immediately his wench, Devasoma, rushes to his help and tries to knock down the heterodoxical monk.
7. The present Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam temple supposes the fixing of Śrīcakra, consisting of several layers of interlacing triangles, which ultimately gives shape to a form of Devī herself. For details see R.K.K. Rajarajan, "Further Light on Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Caves", *Annali dell' Istitnto Orientale*, Vol. 4, pp. 397-408.
8. He belongs to the 18th century A.D., supposed to have lived at Tirukkaṭavūr (Tañcāvūr district), a centre of Śākta tradition. The main Goddess of the place, called Abhirāmi is one among the important aspects of Devī in Tamil Nadu such as Mīṇākṣī (Maturai), Śivakāmi (Citamparam), Nīli (Tiruvālankāṭu), Kāḷi (old Citamparam), Kāmākṣī (Kāñci) and so on.
9. She is the Brahmagarbha who encompasses the Brahmāṇḍa within her *yoni*. The entire mass

of the granite Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam hill could be treated as a natural form of Brahmagarbha of which the navel represents the core *bindu*, the *brahmasthāna* (Pl. LXVII.1).

10. It could even be *vastramakuṭa*, the type of *parivaṭṭam* that devotees are offered during festivals in Tamil Nadu to honour people. In Karṇāṭaka big cloth turbans are in usage as in Gujarat. It needs further clarification. The *makuṭas* seem to be decorated with gems.
11. The *mahiṣapīṭha* is an innovation of the Tamil artists found in Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa* and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha* at Māmallapuram and several other images of the type. It fails to appear in other zones, excepting a solitary stray piece in the Alampūr museum, and continues to exist in the art of Tamil Nadu down to the later Vijayanagara period. The type appears in most Cōḻa temples (e.g. Tañcavur, Tārācuram and Pullamaṅkai) and by virtue of the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* that the image holds, she is usually called in Tamil folk tradition Viṣṇu-Durgā. It is a wrong nomenclature. For details see Raju Kalidos, "Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution", *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 50, pp. 22-5.
12. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 381.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 327-37.
14. That is why we have resorted to the method of identifying them with reference to the contextual aspect of the arrangement of Mātṛkas. On this basis, the mental qualities will have to be listed in an order as follows: *mada, krodha, moha, lobha, asūya, mātsarya* and *paisunya*.
15. Cf. Mahiṣāsura in Chamba painting of the 18th century A.D. wherein Devī is dwarfed (fig. p.75) and Śumhāsura with a host of his fellow-demons in a Jaipur painting of the same date (fig. p. 112) in Veronica Ions, *Indian Mythology*, London 1975.
16. Cf. Shakespeare: "beauty provoketh thieves sooner than gold".
17. When Mahiṣāsura exhibits his vain glorious strength by a lavish display of armed flanks and host of fellow demons (Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Śumbha, Niśumbha, Raktabīja and others) Devī responds to the challenge by showing her personal heroism. At a time when the demon speaks snarlingly at the heroism of the Goddess for having mustered the help of the Mātṛkas, Devī dismisses them and fights independently.
18. Anger is at a lower level and its antidote could be fury. The angry one could not stand before the furious one.
19. *Moha* is the starting point of one-sided love. When the demon sends several of his messengers to persude Devī to marry him, she mocks at them and wonders at his audaciousness.
20. *Kāma* is violent love and it could be softened by the exhibition of *śṛṅgāra*, the real love between two mutually agreeing partners.
21. Greed is to be antidoted by compassion. A good example is the story of Shylock and Antonio (*vide*, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*).
22. When one is envious at the another, the logical move is to maintain peace.
23. The incomparably inferior if turns envious, the superior could do nothing but to laugh at.
24. I feel sore when one carries tales about me. It results in loathsomeness.
25. Raju Kalidos, "Viṣṇu's Mohinī Incarnation: An Iconographical and Sexological Study", *East and West*, Vol. 36: 1-3, 1986, Fig. 13. In one of the later medieval carvings, we find a temple appearing atop a sexual theme, meaning thereby that sexual intercourse is a symbol of *mokṣa*.

Conclusion

The Goddess tradition in India is as old as its history. Evidences of terracotta figurines of the goddesses; discovered in Kulli, Zhob and Harappa (Basham 1971: 15) in the 3rd millennium B.C. would aver the fact that the Mother Goddess cult had deep roots in Indian religious tradition. The images in these cases are akin to fertility symbols with huge buttocks and peeping bellys, elaborate headgear and short skirts. Scholars like Sir John Marshall have ably presented a case for the worship of Goddess in the Indus culture. Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Kalibangan, Lothal and other centres have yielded material remains on the subject. Interestingly, evidences of the Mātṛka cult (Pannikar 1996) are traced in the Indus culture. The Śakti cult in India is as old as 2500 B.C.

The next wave of culture formation in India starts with the coming of the Āryans whose nomadic pantheon seems to have mainly projected male gods with lesser emphasis on the goddess cult. By and large, they were a pastoral patriarchal community. After the gap of a millennium from Harappa to the *Ṛg Veda*, the Goddess slowly reappears. A.L. Basham (1971:22) rightly observes that the Mother "reappears only after the lapse of over a thousand years from the fall of Harappa". Even then the picture presented is vague. Certain names appear in the Āryan literature of which Sāvitṛ, Pṛthvi, Aditi, Uṣas, Rātri and Āraṇyāni are noteworthy (Basham 1971: 235, 404-5). Aditi was the "great mother of the gods", Uṣas "goddess of the dwan", Rātri the "spirit of night", Āraṇyāni "lady of forest", appearing in a late hymn and Pṛthvi a "vague" concept who may be the equivalent of Mother Earth. The solar connection of goddesses like Uṣas and Sāvitṛ is beyond dispute while Rātri is of the lunar denomination. Pṛthvi may be associated with agricultural cult while Āraṇyāni with hunters. Stella Kramrisch (1956) associates Aditi(-uttāna-pāda) with the cult of *yoninilayā* or who is popularly called Reṇukādevī and Cakrāyī. The status of these mothers in the Vedic texts is subordinate to the male gods.

The expansion of Āryan culture in the various parts of India, its interaction with the un-Āryan, pre-Āryan and proto-Drāviḍian cults, deeply entrenched in the Indian society, should have resulted in a syncreticism so that after a lapse of 1,000 and more years we usher into the epoch wherein a new phase of the Goddess tradition is encountered. During the period of shifting development, the Drāviḍian roots continued to hold ground. Several of the terracotta figurines of the goddesses found in the North Indian museums such as Patna would bear witness to the process. By about the time of Gupta revivalism the two streams of Indian Goddess tradition found a glorious mingling, contributing to the ideological inflow in the *Devīmahātmyam*. In the Far South where the Drāviḍian roots continued to persist in their pristine purity, the original thoughts were better poured in texts like the *Cilappatikāram*. Still later in Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī* a syncreticism takes place wherein the Drāviḍian ideologies find their due share.

Viewed against the context of world religious developments (Tokarey 1989), two types of societies are identified. They are matriarchal and patriarchal. The Indian Āryans, the Slavs and the ancient German tribes were mostly of the patriarchal order and fewer female deities are found in their pantheon. Few of the Mediterranean cultures such as Greco-Roman and some of the Oriental cultures such as Egyptian, Mesopotomian and so on were basically urban and matriarchal. These along with the Harappan culture attached an overwhelming importance to the Goddesses. The Indian and Western Āryans primarily adored male gods and believed in witchcraft, exorcism, sorcery and black magic as authenticated by the *Atharvana Veda*. All these elements find their due place when a syncretistic Mother Goddess cult originates in India around the 4th century A.D. Viewed in the angle, the Tantric orientation of the Indian Śākta cult may be found to have its roots in the proto-historic and pre-historic Āryan religion.

A new phase begins around the 4th century A.D. when under the Guptas, the classical phase of Indian literature and art begins, both having their roots in syncretistic religious cults. It cannot be definitely called *brāhmaṇical* or Brahmanical due to the obvious reason that the Drāviḍian and Āryan elements have mixed up so intricately, it is practically difficult to disentangle the Drāviḍian warp from the Āryan woof. The point will have to be emphasised if viewed against the context of Buddhist and Jain, both non-*brāhmaṇical* systems, had an impact on the development of the *bhakti* cults. In a retrospective process, it may be found that the Āryan concept of a patriarchal pantheon had sent its deep roots in the formation of a neo-Hinduism around the beginning of the medieval period. Most of the male gods are outcome of a syncreticism of Drāviḍian and Āryan concepts. Śiva gets merged with Vedic Rudra and Viṣṇu with Sūrya. In the arts of the early medieval period the male gods dominate the list, which would vouchsafe the success of the patriarchal social system. The Drāviḍian dose of impact was such that a group of cultists not only projected Śakti as the all-pervading Cosmic Reality but also by feminising many of the Āryan gods themselves. The Sapta Mātṛkas are a good example; best among them being Brahmī and Aindrī or Indrāṇī. It is an excellent case of Drāviḍo-Āryan synthesis in religion, cult and iconography. A deeper insight may prove the case that it is from the Drāviḍian root the pantheon starts if the Mātṛkas are supposed to begin with Cāmuṇḍā and not Brahmī as we usually do in the left to right pattern. It might as well be in the right to left pattern as is the case with the Indus script. Again Gaṇapatī is to the right as one stands facing the images.

Though there are intermittant breaks in the continuity of the Śakti tradition from

Indus Valley to Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, the numerous terracotta figurines, belonging to different periods of history, discovered in the North, would reveal the fact that actually there was no such break and that the cult had continued to persist at the folk level. Corresponding *êlite* literature or sophisticated iconographical specimens may be the missing factors but that will not present a case against the persistence of the Śakti cult. Even during the age of Bhaktism there is no valid Śakti literature, excepting the Glorification of Devī (*Devīmahātmyam*) in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, comparable to the *Tirumuṟai* and *Nālāyiram* which in addition to extolling Śiva and Viṣṇu serve to inculcate devotion in the respective gods and thus propagate the cults. The absence of a comparable literature in Tamil is a serious point to reckon with. The *Cilappatikāram* is our source, which like Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhava* projects the personality of Devī. Later, the message is broadcasted by Śaṅkara very effectively in the *Saundaryalaharī*.

Devī's personality projected in the *Devīmahātmyam* is kaleidoscopic. As many as 160 of her epithets are traceable, which show the way to crystallization of *nāmāvali* in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*. In the corpus of names, we find the Drāviḍian and Āryan channels at a confluence. Names such as Agni- (Devī), Aindrī, Ārya, Brahmī, Indrāṇī (Indra-śakti), Īśānā, Mṛgavāhinī (Vāyuśakti), Nalakubarī, Rātridevī, Sandhyā, Savitrī, Vāk and Varuṇī have unmistakable Āryan affiliations. However, they were not so important either iconographically nor from the cult point of view. Cāmuṇḍā, Durgā (Durgāṁbikā), Dvāravāsinī, Gaurī (cf. Gauramma of Mahākūṭa), Guhyeśvarī, Kālī, Lajjā (equivated with Yoninilayā), Mahālakṣmī (cf. Gajalakṣmī in Ellora and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam), Mahāsarasvatī (Caves XV & XXII of Ellora), Mahiṣavāhinī, and Yogīśvarī were perhaps goddesses of the soil who acquire cult and iconographical status in a viable medium of art by about the 5th century A.D. By leaps and bounds the personality of Devī gets projected as the Cosmic Symbol and so she was called Bījagarbha, Maheśvarī, Parameśvarī and Viśveśvarī. She was the Virāṭśakti, Viśvarūpinī, Brahmagarbha, Brahmayoni and *Pañcakṛtyaparāyaṇa*. Being *padmavaktrakā*, she is one who faces all directions and so Viśvatomukhī. The picture of Devī was the pinnacle of Śakti imagery, which was to shape and direct the course of Śākta cult in India for the centuries to come. Many of the names listed in the *Devīmahātmyam* point to the folk-level foundations. Examples are Cakrinī (worship of totemic weapons), Ḍākinī (forest nymph), Damṣṭrakarālī (vampire), Dhanurdharī, Dharmacāriṇī (abstraction of worldly concepts), Ghorarūpa, Jvālāmukhī (with roots perhaps in ghost cult), Kālī, Khaḍgadhārinī, Mṛgavāhinī (cf. *kalaiyamarceli* of Iḷaṅkō), Raktacāmuṇḍā, Raktadantikā, Sarvamaṅgala (cf. Yoninilayā), Śūladhārinī, Śūleśvarī, Vajradhārinī and so on.

The total number of variables appearing within the purview of early medieval art may be 22 and the epithets listed from *Devīmāhātmyam* around 160. Many of these epithets in the text are of a common genre and may be identified within the pantheon, listed from field data. Thus, for example, Aṣṭabhuja may be the common name of any of the goddesses with eight hands, e.g., Siṁhavāhinī or Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Bhārati has several synonymns of which Sarasvatī, Mahāsarasvatī, Mahāvāṇī, Mahāvidhyā and Vāk are noted. Bhūtamātha is Devī surrounded by a host of attendants as we usually find Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the fighting type in Māmallapuram, Cāluvaṉkuppam and Ellora (Cave XVI). Bījagarbha may be identified with Yoninilayā. Brahmacāriṇī is a spinster. According to *Devīmahātmyam* the slaughterer of Mahiṣāsura is due to one such personality. Cakrinī is one who holds the *cakra*, preferably the *Sthānaka*-Devī who stands on the decapitated head of *mahiṣa* in Tamil Nadu. Dhanurdharī is one who holds the *dhanus* and *bāṇa* and fights with Mahiṣāsura in Māmallapuram and Ellora. If so, the *Vaccirakkōṭṭam* (Temple of *Vajra*), noted in *Cilappatikāram*, may be a temple for Devī who holds the *vajra* (cf. also the Vajreśvarī of the Buddhist pantheon). Durgā or Durgāṁbikā may be identified with Devī of the type housed in the cella of the Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram. Dvāravāsinī is one who occupies a place at the threshold. They are several of the Devīs who occupy a strategic place in early medieval cave and structural temples. They are Yoninilayā (Ellora XXI), Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Caves XIV, XVI, XVII of Ellora, Badāmī, Moghulrājapuram and so on), Jyeṣṭhā (Vallam I) and Gajalakṣmī (Cave XVI & Laṅkeśvara of Ellora, Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci and so on). Ghorarūpa may denote any form of Devī who has got a terrific gesture. The Cāmuṇḍā of Alampūr is a good example as is Kālī in Cave XV of Ellora. Guhyeśvarī is the Mother of Caves. A good example is the Yoninilayā in the Jogeśvarī group of caves in Ellora. Kāpālinī may be one who holds a *kapālapātra* or the companion of the *kāpālika* order (e.g. *Mattavailāsaprahasana*). The groups of Kāla and Kālī images in Ellora (Cave XIV & XXI) and Mahākūṭa (Rākṣasa Gateway) are good examples. Cāmuṇḍā of Alampūr who holds a *kapālapātra* in her hand is of the same type. Khaḍgadhāriṇī is one who holds a *khaḍga*. Several of the Amazon-Mahiṣāsuramardinī images in the Ellora caves (e.g. XIV, XVII & XXI) are examples of the type. At times she may also represent the personified *khaḍga* that perhaps appears in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave. Lajjā is represented by several of the Yoninilayās in Ellora, Badāmī, Mahākūṭa, Aihole and Alampūr. Mahākālā is the same as Kālī. Mahiṣavāhinī is a good concept which perhaps denotes the type of Devī standing on the decapitated buffalo-head in Tamil Nadu. Mālādharī is one who wears a garland, perhaps a garland of skulls (*kapālamālā*); examples being the Cāmuṇḍā of Alampūr and Māmallapuram. Maṅgala and Sarvamaṅgala are the several Yoninilayās or Gajalakṣmīs. Śūladhārinī is one who holds the *triśūla* of which the examples are the Udayagiri type of Mahiṣāsuramardinīs. She is also called Śūleśvarī. Vajradhāriṇī is Aindrī.

The above analysis may show that not less than 23 of the epithets, noted in the *Devīmahātmyam*, are to be found within the framework of the iconographical representations in early medieval temples. Several others are also of a synonymous character. Good examples are Bhadrakālī, Kālikā, Mahākālī and Mahākālyā for Kālī, and Mahāsarasvatī, Mahāvāṇī, Mahāvidhyā and Vāk for Sarasvatī. Several of the epithets are common names of Devī. Examples are Aṁbikā, Bhagavatī, Devī, Īśvarī, Jaganmāta, Jaganmūrti, Parameśvarī and so on. Epithets having direct links with iconographical models surveyed are Aindrī, Brahmī, Cāmuṇḍā, Durgā, Dvāravāsiṇī, Ghorarūpa, Guhyeśvarī, Kālī, Kāpāliṇī, Kātyayāni (Siṁhavāhinī), Kaumārī, Lajjā, Lakṣmī, Mahiṣavāhinī, Raktacāmuṇḍā (Kālī of Cave XV Ellora), Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī and Yogīśvarī. By this way we may add 33 more variables to the list so that a total of 56 variables are accounted under the Śākta pantheon of early medieval art.

As a synthesis of the *dii indigetes* (old native gods) and *dii novensides* (newly adopted gods), the *Devīmahātmyam* list is a record of millennia of the Goddess cult experiment in India. Several of the pre-historic roots have made it a creeper of indefinite length. The early medieval stage represents the summation of a great tradition. The *iṭukāṭṭuppēy* (Iṭākiṇi=Ḍākiṇī) 'Goddess of Burial-ground', recorded in *Cilappatikāram*, is an example of burial cult. It gives an insight into the god-manes or genie, the Roman *dii manes*, in the Hindu pantheon. There should have been domestic deities, family deities (guardians of houses) and clan deities (guardians of villages) and also cities. The *Cilappatikāram* speaks of Āraruṭṭeyvam or Kāṉuraiteyvam who attempts to beguile the hero of the epic. The patron-goddess of Maturai is called Maturāpati. Āraruṭṭeyvam is a good example for *lares viales*, the spirits which haunt wayfarers on the roadside. The Sapta Mātṛkas are an example for totemism. Thus, the respective goddesses may be personifications of cults relating to swan, bull, peacock, elephant, kite, lion or sow, owl or dog. These goddesses by the lapse of time give way to the ancestor cult when during the later medieval period the worship of *sapta* (T. *ēḻu*) *kaṉṉiyar* (virgins) came to be popularised. Fertility symbols are likely to have been represented in a shapeless form that ultimately leads to the *Uttānapāda* type, the midway between iconic and aniconic. The importance attached to the mothers in matriarchal communities should have influenced the sexual representations in iconography. The indelible symbol is traced in the religion of the ancient German tribes. Tacitus in his *Germany and Its Tribes* says, "They even believe that the sex has a certain sanctity and prescience (*sanctum aliquid et providum*), and they do not despise their counsels, or make light of their answers" (Tokarey 1989: 119). It would explain the sex-based iconic symbols in the early medieval Indian tradition.

The *Cilappatikāram* is a good example for the hero-cult. What was originally a half-mythical and quasi-historical figure as portrayed in Iḷaṅkō's *epos* becomes the Goddess of Chastity, Pattiṉitēvi. Sanctity was attached to water since the days of Indus culture and in course of time rivers came to be deified of which examples of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sonabhadrā appear in early medieval art. An ancient Tamil classic notes a sea deity, adored in the form of a shark's bone (*Paṭṭiṉappālai* 11.86-7). The main sea god is Varuṇaṉ (Skt. Varuṇa) who gets feminised into Varuṇī. Besides another Tamil classical epic notes Tīvatilakai as a goddess of the island Maṇipallavam who was in possession of a pot of ambrosia (*Maṇimekalai*, 11 *Pāttirampeṟṟa-kātai*). It is interesting to note in the context that the name of the pool is noted as Kōmuki (Skt. Gomukhī), which could as well be the name of a water nymph. The awardee of the pot of ambrosia, Maṇimēkalai, the heroine of the epic, feeds the multitude with food and says, "One who offers food to the (hungry) inhabitants of the world is one who gives life". To quote,

Maṇṭiṉi ñālattu vāḻvōrkkellām
Uṇṭikoṭuttōr uyir koṭuttorē.

This is to prove that both were deified symbols of charity.

The *Cilappatikāram* gives evidences of ritual offerings, both vegetarian and animal, bacchanalia and the Vestal virgins. Cāliṉi, a girl, was disguised in the form of the belligerent goddess, Koṟṟavai, oblations offered to her in order to invite oracles in the pattern that we meet the same at Delphi in ancient Greece. Evidences of the human sacrifices are provided by the Mahiṣāsuramardinī reliefs of Tamil Nadu. Gestures as in many of the ancient cultures connote iconographic symbols. These *haruspices* may be survivals of the very ancient human heritage and serve to solve iconographical riddles as found in case of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Udayagiri. J.C. Harle's question 'what the Goddess holds in her two uplifted hands?' is relevant in the context of the Etruscans' belief that divination was suggested by the entrails of animals. Is it such an idiom that we find at Udayagiri? (cf. Nṛsiṁha holding Hiraṇya's entrails), which is most probably the case because we have no textual mandate to resolve the question.

Certain of the Devī's epithets as already pointed out are personifications of abstract concepts. Lakṣmī symbolises wealth, Dharmacāriṇī 'righteousness' and Durgā 'victory'. Bhūdevī is a personification of the natural force, earth, and Sītā of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fame, soil. Elements of nature such as rivers (e.g. Gaṅgā), trees (e.g. *Kalpavṛkṣa*) and mountains (e.g. Parvatavardhiṇī) were deified. Sandhyā and Uṣas are personifications of time. Yakṣas and Yakṣīs appearing in the form of bracket motifs in Ellora, Badāmī, Aihole and other places are fairy tale elements.

Devī above all is the creatrix that has been cast in art media in a way unparalled in the history of world religions. The Yoninilayā of early South Indian art is not the parallel of Greek Titan Prometheus but the representation of a Cosmic Virāṭ-śakti who is the centre and pivot of the cosmic course of activities. When compared with the theoretical mandate outlined in books like the *Devīmāhātmyam*, *Saundaryalaharī* and *Lalitāsahasranāma* it may emphatically be added that in the history of religions and iconography it is in India that the Mother Goddess appears in so resplendent a form. The Indian Devī is the Mother par excellence.

She creates, sustains and destroys the cosmos and the cosmic beings, both gods and mortals. In Tamil tradition she is supposed to have fed the divine child, Tiruñāṉacampantar, with her divine milk, which is called *ñāṉappāl* (milk of wisdom). The saint himself came to be called Ñāṉacampantar, *tiru* being a prefix to the name. He treated himself a son of the Goddess and his philosophical approach to Godhood known as *satputramārga* 'way of the son'. As Goddess of all times, she stands for the past, present and future. These concepts are again symbols of creation (past), sustenance (present) and destruction (future). The yester (past) denomination of the Goddess is Ādiśakti or Parāśakti. It is from her that the Cosmos takes its origin. As Goddess of the present, she deals with evil forces whom Mahiṣāsuramardinī represents. In future she is to take the form of Durgā as the *Devīmahātmyam* avers.

Devī's personality could not be comprehended by even *yogis* as she is beyond description. In the Tantric mode of illustration, therefore, she appears as Śrīcakra whose centre, the *bindu*, is rooted everywhere and its circumference found nowhere. The Hindu temple (e.g. the Draupadī-*ratha* or the Kailāsa of Ellora) is in a microcosmic scale the abstraction of Devī herself. The *Śrītattvanidhi* (1:1:33) would call her Ṣaṭaṅgadevī whose six parts as in the Drāviḍian *vimāna* represent the six vital organs of Vāstupuruṣa. Ṣaṭaṅgadevī consists of Hṛdayadevī, Śirodevī, Śikhādevī, Varmadevī, Dṛṣṭidevī and Aśtradevī. They are luminating personalities who stand encircling the *bindu-pīṭha*. She is the *yoni* symbol, located at the summit of *Meru*, the *Axis mundi*, and so Devī's epithet *sumerūśṛṅgmadhyasthā* (*LSN* 55). That means Devī is herself abstracted in the form of a *prāsāda*. The cosmic character of Devī is well illustrated by the way that the early medieval artist-philosophers have designed their abodes of art in Ellora (Caves XVI and XXI), Draupadī-*ratha* at Māmallapuram and the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam caves.

Devī is an enigmatic symbol, the Śrīcakra; she resides at the Cosmic threshold, Dvāravāsinī; she is the Queen of Dancers, Naṭeśvarī; she is the mistress of *yoginīs*, Yogīśvarī; she is a terror to evil forces and manifests in order to annihilate them as Sapta Mātṛkas; she is the cosmic core, Brahmayoni or Brahmagarbha; she is the World Mother, Bhuvaneśvarī; she is the limitless one, Virāṭśakti or Viśvarūpinī; She is the minutest atomic particle, *yoninilayā*; She is the Omnipotent, Viśveśvarī and the Omnipresent, Viśvatomukhī. The many-sided and multi-sided personality of Devī is difficult to visualize because Śakti is both macro and micro at the conceptual level. At a particular period of her ascent to prominence in world religious tradition she played a spectacular role. During these stages of development, textual mandate as adumbrated by Iḷaṅkō, the *Devīmahātmyam* and Śaṅkara had an interaction with the visual representations of Devī. Through her various manifestations in art, Śakti represents the grand total of India's philosophies frozen into lithic tablets, whose sublime perspective is enigmatic. No scholar or *yogi* has the courage to say that he has visualised the full picture of Devī in his mind's eye or felt the presence of Śakti by engaging himself into an absorbing study of her literature or measure the magnitude of her manifestations, visiting the solitary caves at the length and breadth of South India. Through her various iconic forms, Śakti thematises the mysteries of life and poses an eternal challenge to anyone who aspires to undertake an iconographical trecking. It is practically a difficult voyage because Śakti as the Mother of *yoginīs* (or *yogis*) is Mahāyogīśvarī and as the Mistress of Cosmic illusions the Mahāmāyā.

Glossary*

ābharaṇa	'ornament'
abhayamudrā	protection assuring hand posture
āgama	ritual books, laying down rules and regulations of temple building, festivals, rituals and so on, including exposition of philosophical dogma
agni	'fire', Agni is fire god
akṣamālā	'rosary'
ālīḍhāsana	the archer's attitude, the left leg thrown forward and the right pulled backwards
āliṅgana	'embrace'
aṁśa	part or particle
añjali	reverence
aṅkuśa	elephant-goad
ardha	'half'
āṟu (T)	'six'
āsana	a pedestal or seated posutre
āśrama	one of the four stages of life in Indian tradition consisting of *brahmacārya*, *gṛhastha*, *vanaprastha* and *sanyāsa* (Basham 1971: 159-60)
aṣṭa	'eight'
aśtra	a missle
aṣṭottaram	stands for 108
atibhaṅga	flexion in images, which is very acute with many bends
āvāhāna	a hand posture (*mudrā*), indicative of an invitation
bāṇa	'arrow'

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* All are Sanskritic terms unless otherwise marked within parentheses (T. Tamil, Te. Telugu, K. Kannada & H. Hindi).

bandha	a tie or knot
bhadrapīṭha	a seat or couch of the ordinary type, usually bench-like
bhakti	'devotion'
bhaṅga	flexion in images
bhiṭṭi	wall, one of the six (*ṣaṭaṅga*) architectural members of the Hindu temple which marks the wall section, also called *pāda* 'leg'
bhuja	'limb'
bhūtagaṇa	dwarf demons attending on Śiva or Devī
bindu	the spot, core section of Śrīcakra, the *yoni* symbol
cakra	(1) 'disc', characteristic weapon of Viṣṇu; (2) a geometrical shape consisting of interlacing triangles which constitutes the Śrīcakra
camayam (T)	religion or cult
cāmara	fan
cannavīra	a cross belt, usually attributed to warrior gods and goddesses
catur	four
cilampu (T)	'anklet', meant for women; those meant for men were called *kaḻal*
cūlam (T)	Skt. *śūla* a 'dart' or lance
ḍamarū	kettle-drum
daṇḍa	staff, a pole stick
darpaṇa	'mirror'
darṣana	visulisation, a view presented by showing one's (a God or god-man) physical presence
daśa	'ten'
deva (ta)	'god'
devakoṣṭha	a niche, an architectural member of the Hindu temple which provides the place for housing a *parivāradevata*; mostly in the Far South
devakulika	a subsidiary shrine found in the Kailāsa of Kāñci
dhanus	'bow'
dharma	'righteousness', one of the *puruṣārthas*
dhvaja	'flag'
dhyāna	'meditation'
dik	'direction'
dikpālakas	guardians of directions, directional deities

dvāra	threshold, doorway
dvārapālikā	door-keeper (female)
dvi	'two'
eka	'one'
ekāvali	a necklace with a single layer or thread
eyiṉar (T)	a clan or tribe, professed to hunting in ancient Tamilnadu
gadā	Indian 'mace'
gaja	'elephant'
gajahasta	also called *ḍolahasta*; a hand posture usually attributed to goddesses in which a hand is thrown down casually as though tossing like an elephant's proboscis
gaṇa	dwarf attendant cf. *bhūtagaṇa*
garbha	'womb'
garuḍa	'kite'
ghaṇṭa	'bell'
gṛha	'house'
grīva	'neck'
guḍi (Te & K)	'temple'
guha	'cave'
guṇa	mental quality, characterisic ethos
halā	'plough-share'
haṁsa	'swan'
hāra	'garland'
hasta	'hand'
jaṭā	locks of hair
jaṭāmakuṭa	tiara formed out of locks of hair
jvāla	sparks of fire
kalai (T)	antelope
kamaṇḍalū	water-jug, carried by the anchorite
kaṅkana	wrist-band
kāṇṭam (T)	a book, chapterisation in classical literature
kaṇṭha	'neck'
kapāla or *kāpāla*	'skull', used as begging bowl by Kāpālikas

kapālamālā	garland of skulls
Kāpālika	a *mahāvratin*, member of a vigorous school of Śaivism
Kāpālinī (kāpāli)	the lady member of the Kāpālika school
karṇa	'ear'
kartari-mudrā	scissors-like posture of the fingers onto which *āyudha* emblems are fitted
kaṭavuḷ (T)	God
karaṇḍa-makuṭa	a short headgear or crown, meant for goddesses
kaṭaka-mudrā	crab-like posture of fingers
kaṭi	'hip'
kaṭibandha	a waist band
keyūra	an armlet
khaḍga	'sword'
khaṭvaṅga	a staff, fitted with a skull atop
kheṭaka	'shield'
koṣṭha	same as *devakoṣṭha*
kōyil (T)	'temple'
kṛtya	'function', one's destined duty
kṣetra	a holy place
kucabandha	'breast-band'
kuṇḍala	ear ornament, usually pendant
laharī	'wave'
lakṣaṇa	characteristic quality
lalita	'graceful' or 'charming'
leṇa (H)	'cave'
līlā	'sport'
madhu	'wine', a spurious drink
mahā	'great'
mahārājalīlāsana	a seated posture with one leg pendant and the other rested on pedestal
mahiṣa	'buffalo'
maithuna	sexual intercourse
mithuna	sexual preplay such as kissing, embracing, biting etc.

makuṭa	tiara, headgear, usually a crown
mālā	'garland'
māṁsa	meat
maṇḍala	(1) a geometrical formation in circles, (2) territorial division in medieval Tamilnadu
maṇḍapa	'pavilion', an integral member of the Hindu temple architecture
maṇi	'gem'
maṟavar (T)	a war-like community of people who were also professed to highway robbery and so called *kaḷḷar*
mārga	way in philosophical system
mātṛka	'mother'
matsya	'fish'
mekhala (T. *mēkalai*)	girdle
mṛga (T. *kalai*)	antelope
mudrā	posture of the hand
mukha	'face'
Mūrti	the person, used for both sexes
nāḍu	literally 'country', stands for a territorial division in medieval Tamilnadu
nāga	'snake' (masculine)
nāginī	same as above feminine
nāma	'name'
nāṇa	several
ñāna	wisdom
nandi	bull
nāri	woman
nāya(i)ka	lord (mistress)
pāda	'leg', same as *bhiṭṭi* part of the Hindu temple
padma	lotus
pālai (T)	a barren tract of land, equivalent of desert
paḷḷi (T)	the Jain (or Buddhist) temple, preferably the former
pañca	'five'
pañcakṛtya	five cosmic functions

parahasta	additional hands, other than the original two
pralambapāda	a seated posture, both legs pendant
parivaṭṭam (T)	a piece of cloth tied to the head as a mark of honour
pāśupata	a school of Śaivism
patra	'leaf'
pātra	'vessel'
pīṭha	pedestal
pradakṣiṇa	circumambulation
pratyālīḍha	same as *ālīḍha*, in this mode the right leg is thrown forward
prayoga	action, used in connection with weapons shown in pose of release
preta	corpse
puñjam	foliage in garments which show richness and exuberance
puruṣa	man
pūrva	original
puṣtaka	book
rājasa	human ethos of the intermediary order (Cf. *tāmasa*)
rākṣasa	a class of semi-divine beings, demons
rasa	aesthetic flavour
ratna	gem
sahasra	one thousand
sakhala	all
Śākta	a follower of the Śakti cult
śakti	literally 'energy' or 'power', Śakti denotes Devī, the Mother Goddess
sama	equal
saṁbhava	'birth'
sandhyā	twilights of the day
śaṅkha	conch, an exclusive emblem of Viṣṇu, appropriated by Devī
sapta	'seven'
śarabha	a mythical bird, combining features of lion and elephant
sarpa	snake
śāstra	a sacred literature, canon
ṣaṭ	'six'
sattva	ethos of the first rate order (cf. *rājasa*)

saundarya	'beauty'
sava	'corpse'
śilpa	sculpture
śiras	'head'
śloka	a verse or hymn
śṛṅgāra	flavour of love
sṛṣṭi	'creation'
sthala	holy place
sthānaka	standing (image)
sūcimudrā	a hand posture with cleansed fist, the index finger being pointed
śūla	see *cūlam*
sundarī	a beauty, a nymph
surasundarī	a heavenly beauty
tāmasa	ethos of the tertiary order (cf. *sattva*)
ṭaṅka	battle-axe
tarjanīmudrā	same as *sūcimudrā*
tiru (T)	an honorific prefix, same as Śrī (Skt.)
toraṇa	an arch
tri	'three'
triśūla	'trident'
udarabandha	like a girdle, an ornament fitted to the belly
ūru	'thigh'
utkuṭikāsana	a seated posture, meant for *yogis*; both the soles placed on a pedestal with the knees erect
uttānapād(a)	a posture as above but the soles held close and knees apart so as to expose the genitals
uttarīya	a cloth, shoulder piece
vadham	destroy (an evil being)
vāhana	a mount
vajra	a weapon personifying thunder-bolt
vaktra	'head'
vāma	'left'
vāmācāra	left hand practioners, Tantric cultists are denoted so

varāha	wild boar
varāhī	sow
varṇa	literally colour, stands for caste in India
varga	a division
vāsam	dwell, inhabit
vastra	habiliments, dress
vāstu	a site, a house, a dwelling place
vāstupuruṣa	personification of a dwelling place or site
vēṭṭvar (T)	a clan professed to hunting
vīṇā	Indian 'lute'
viśmayamudā	a hand posture showing wonder with all fingers spread out
vṛkṣa	tree
yajñopavīta	sacred thread, put on the body by *dvijas* in India; it is normally in the right to left pattern and sent left to right while performing obsequies
yantra	a magical illustration like Śrīcakra
yoga	meditation
yogi	sage or seer
yoni	the female genital organ

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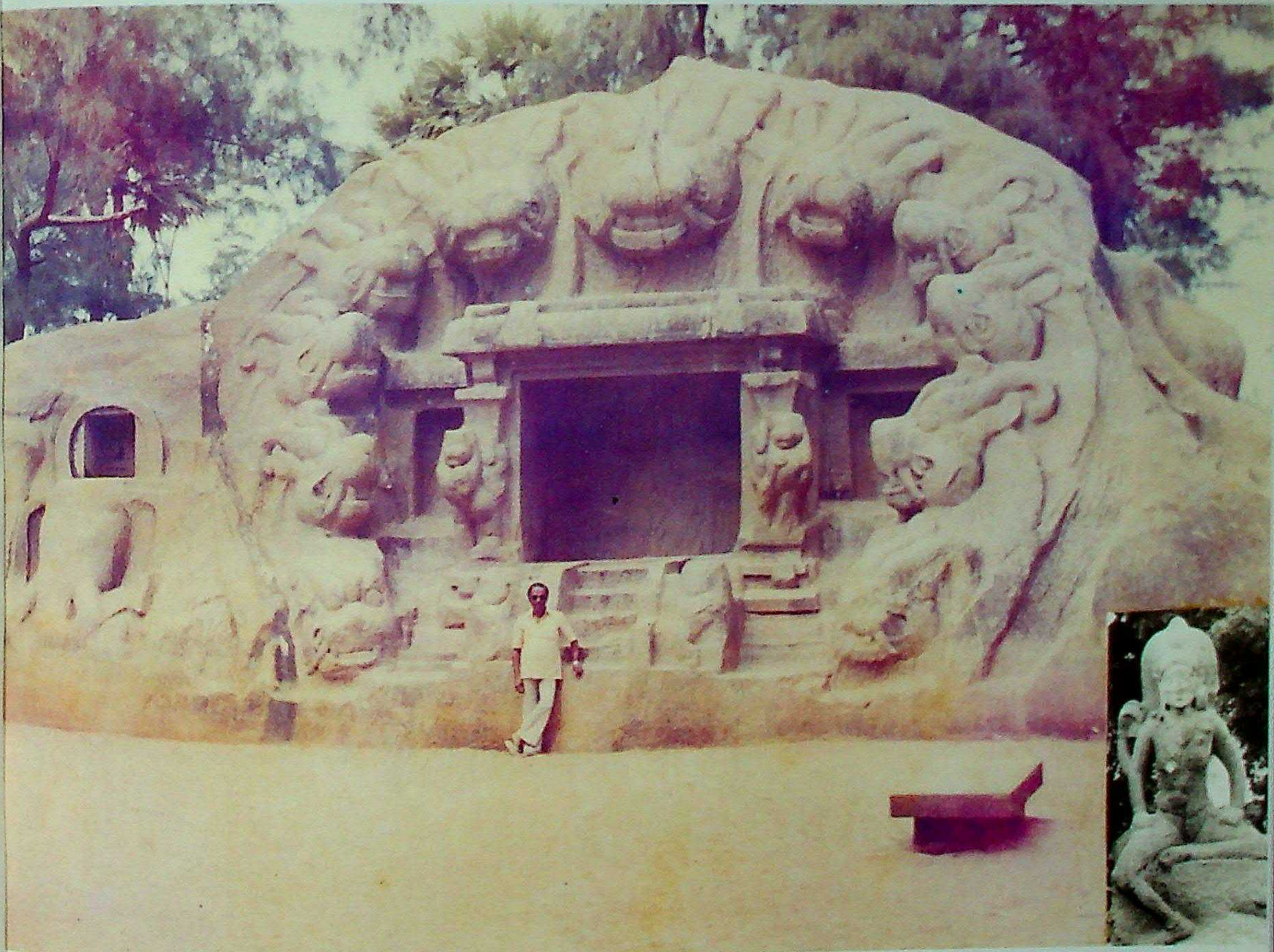

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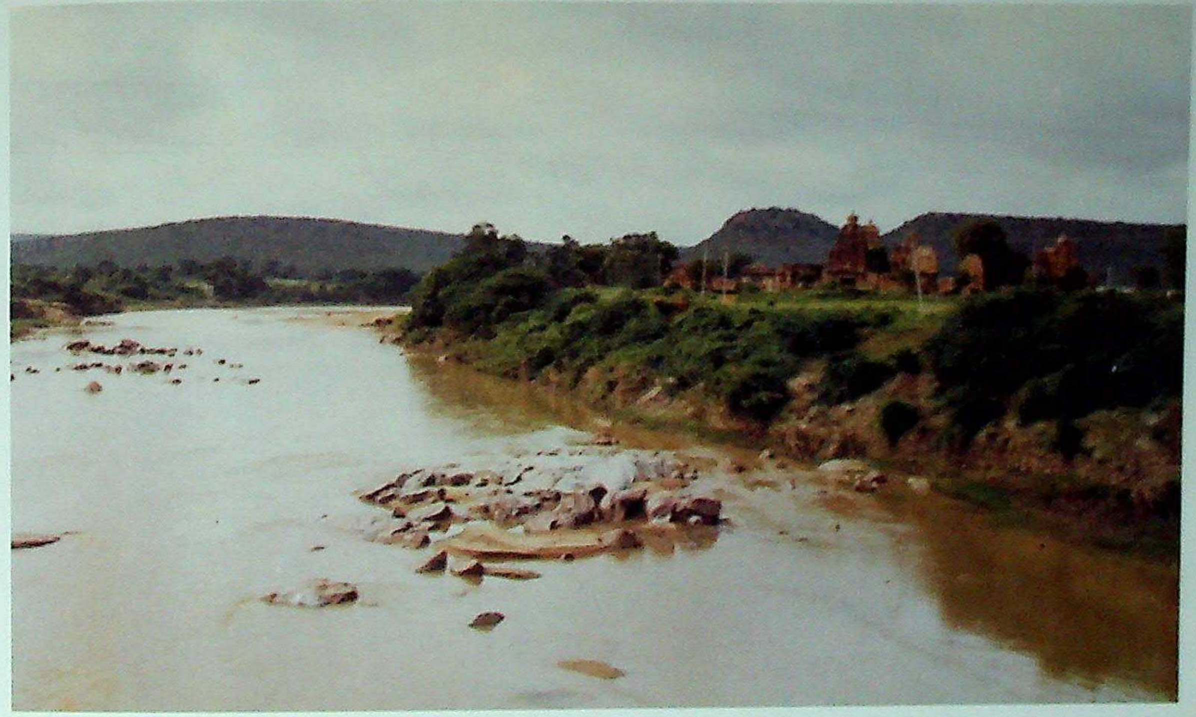

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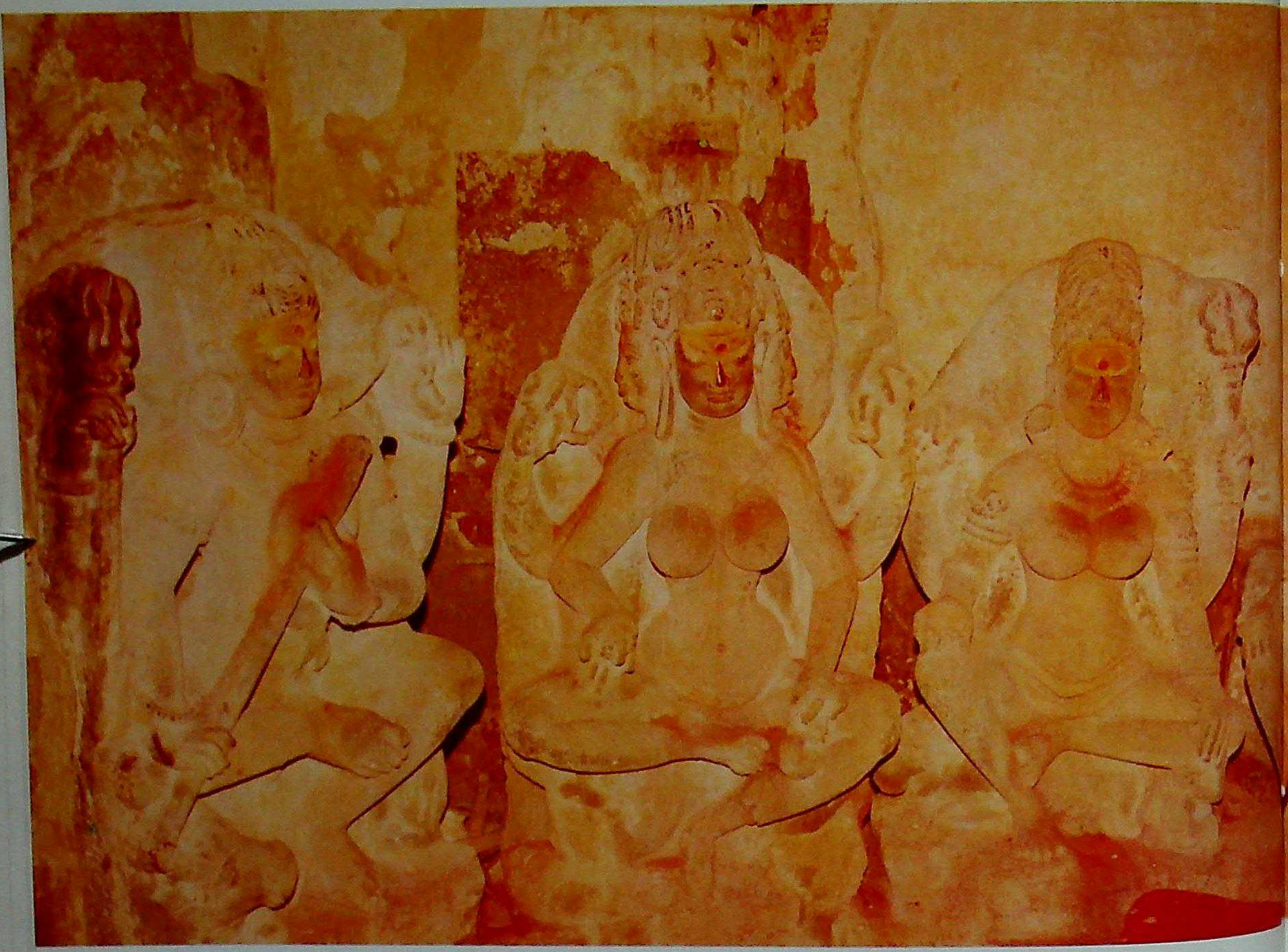

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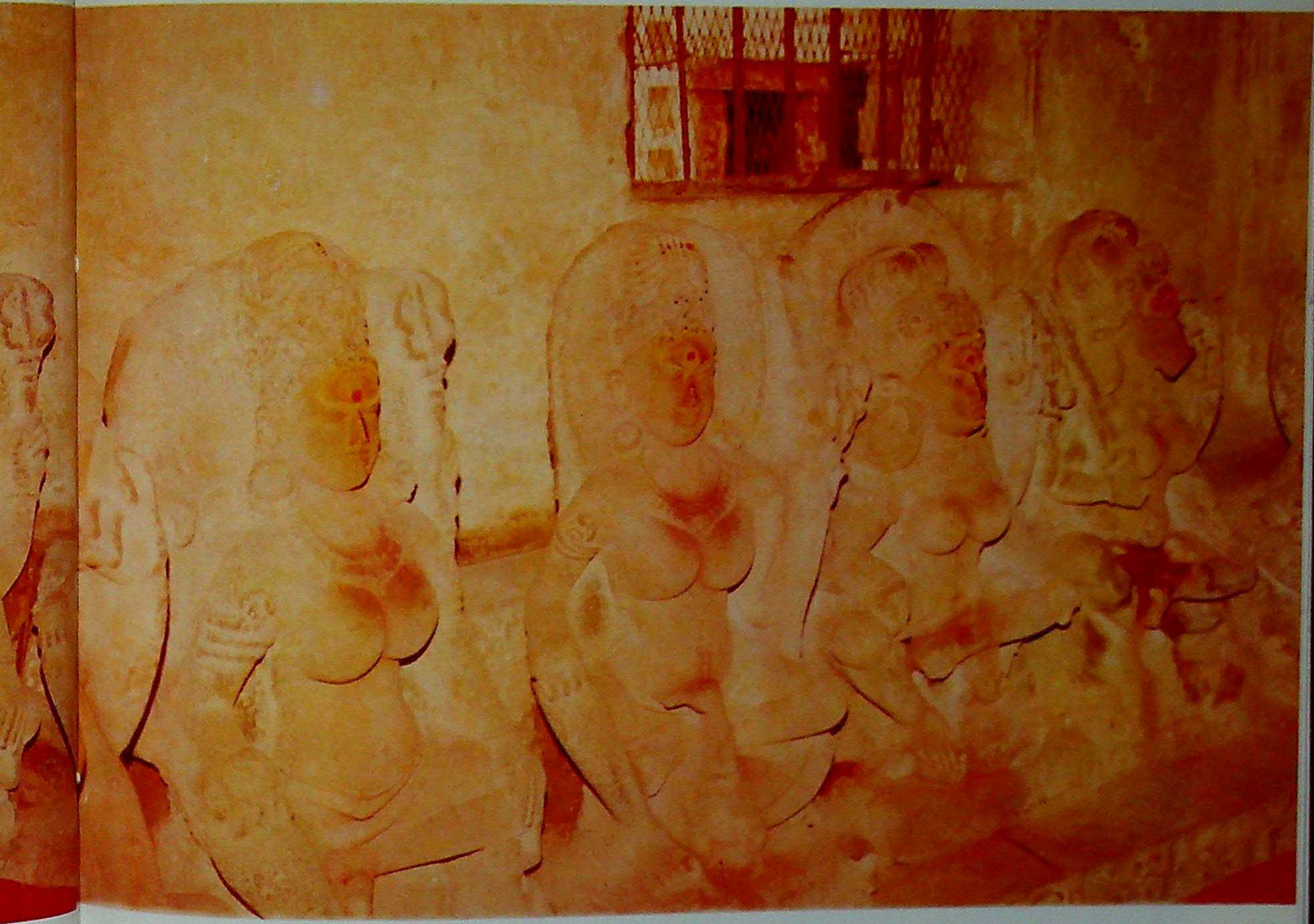

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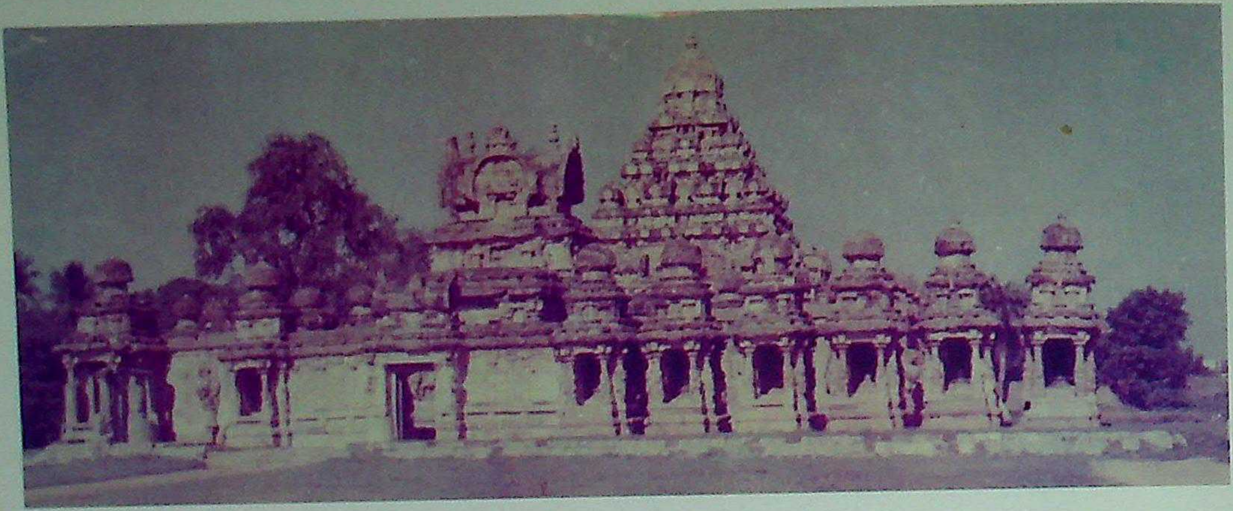

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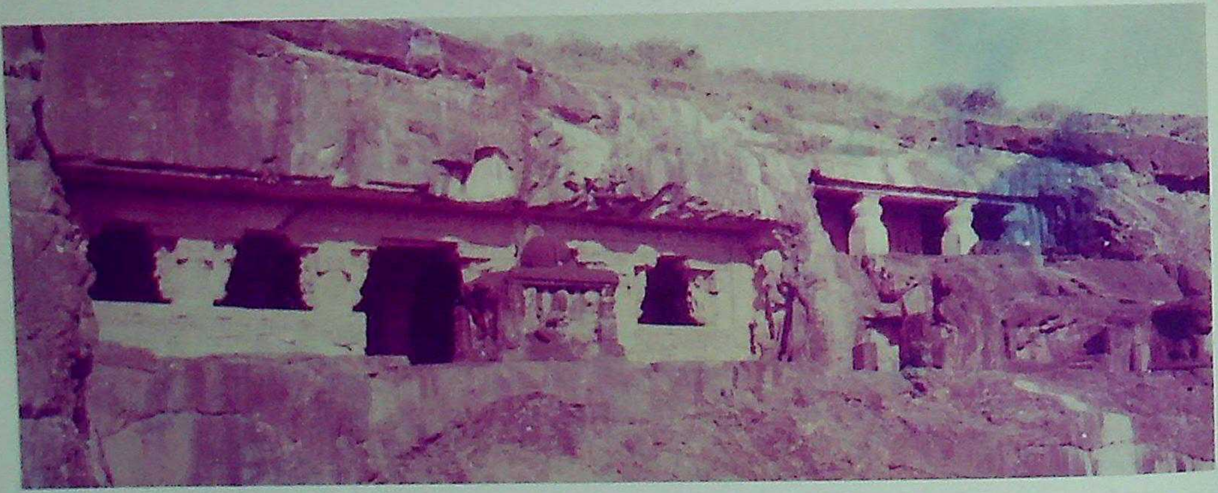

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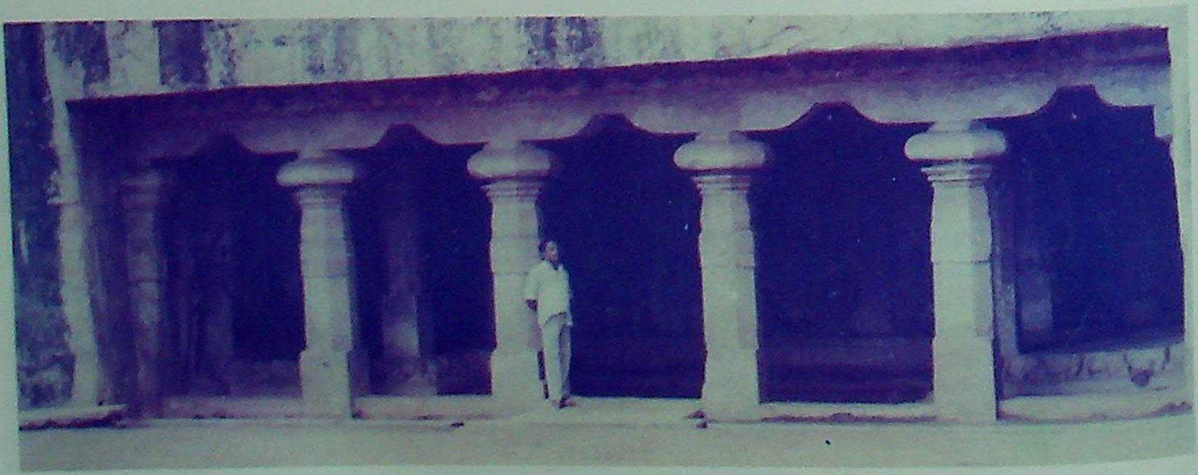

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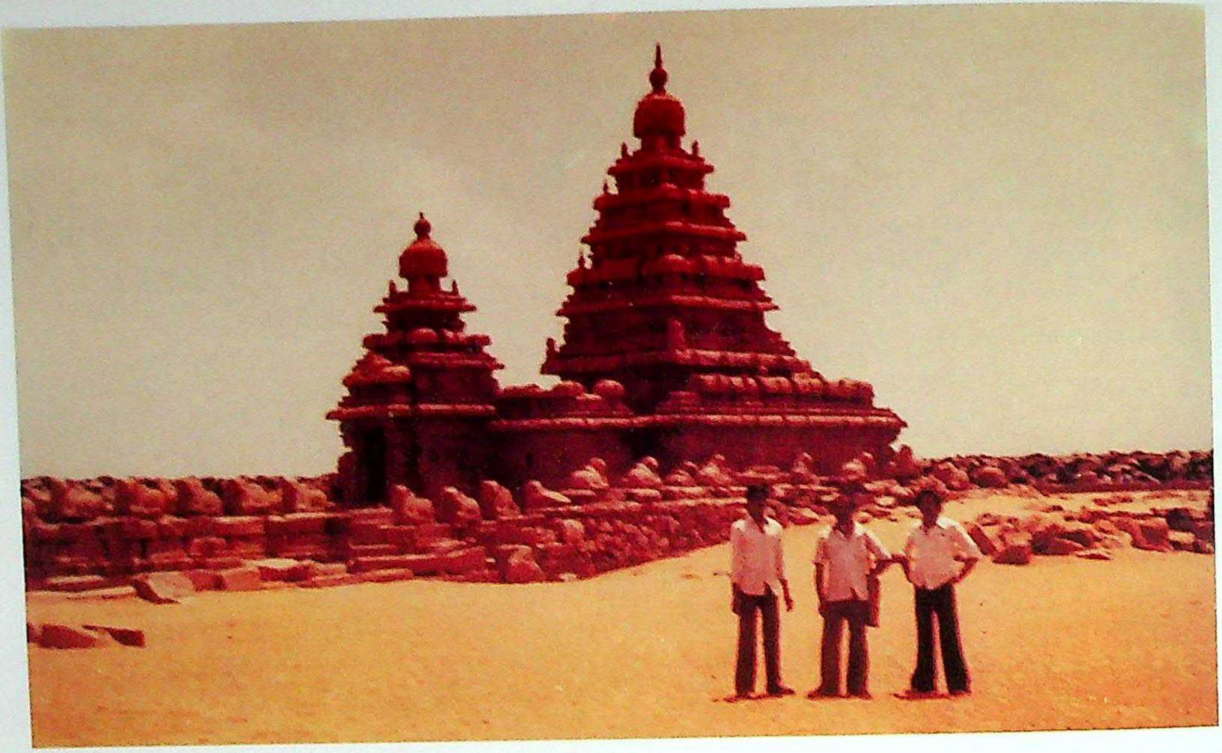
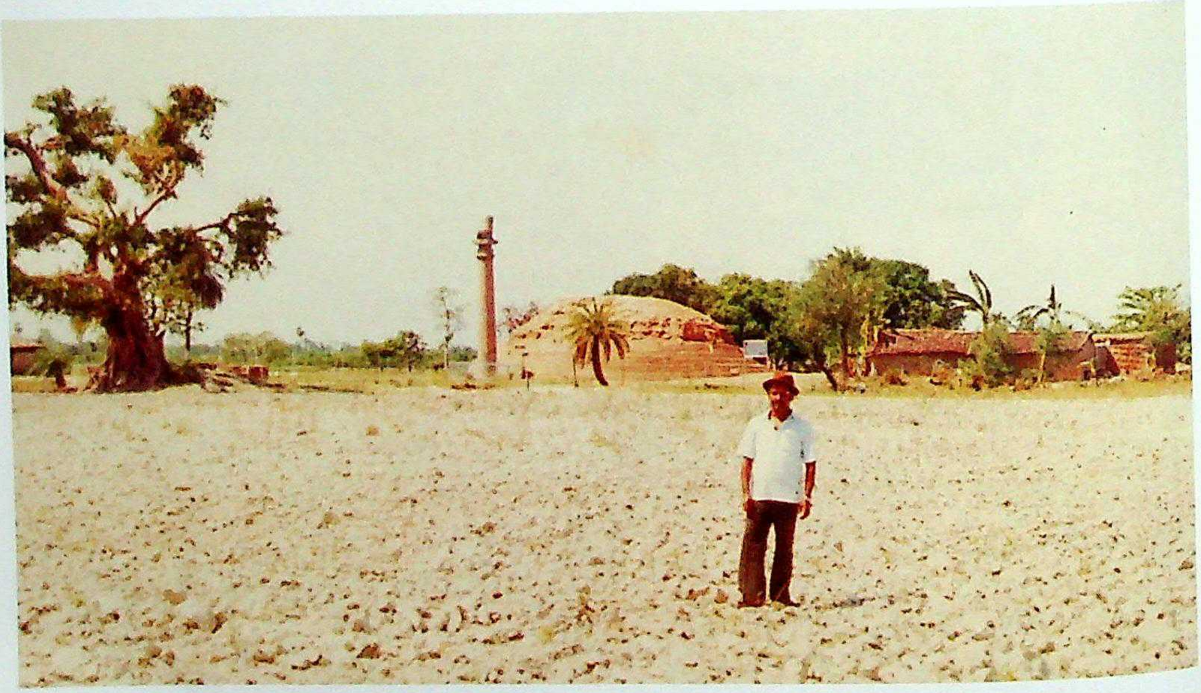


Pl. VIII. 1. Shore temple, Māmallapuram.



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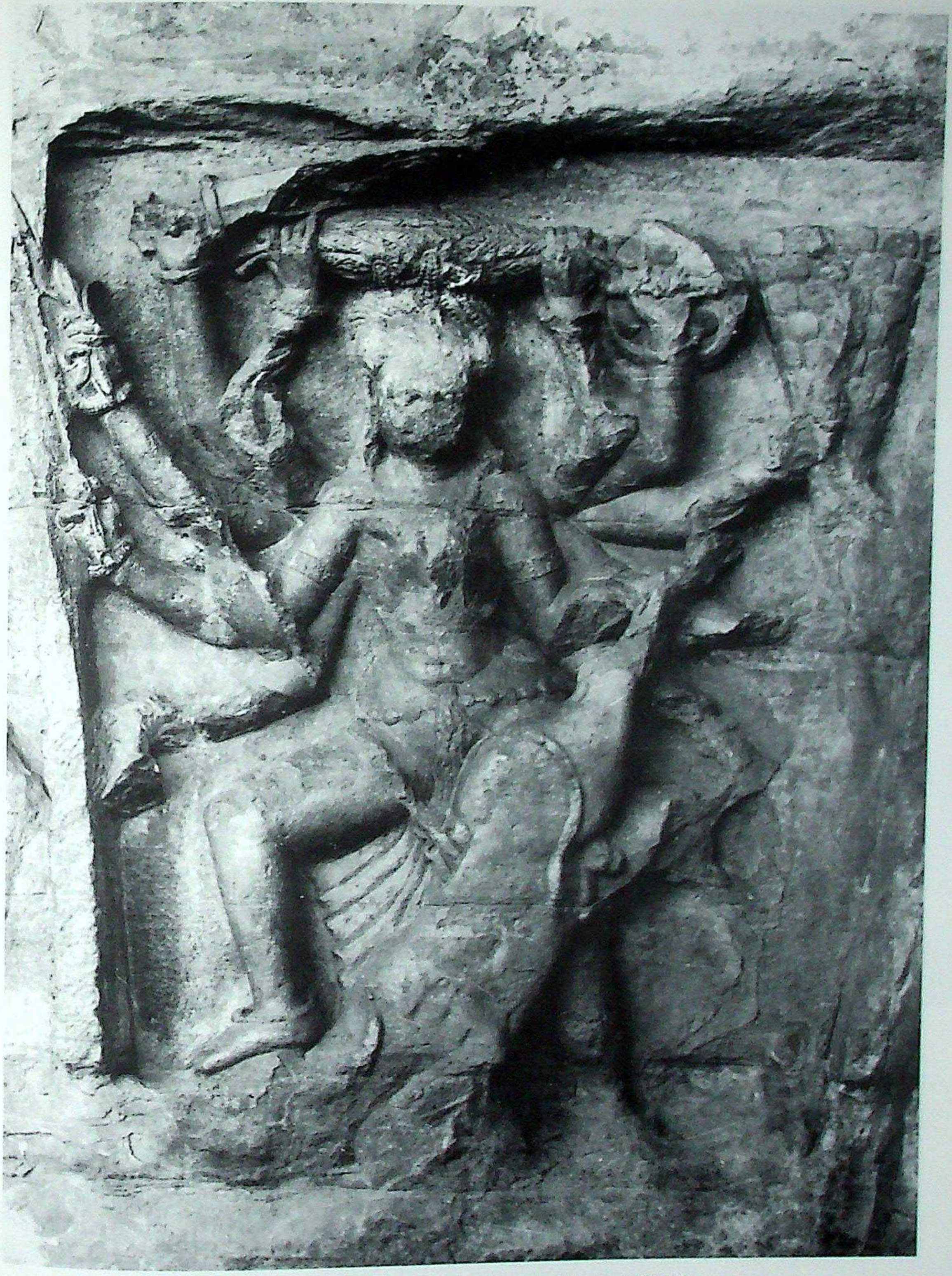
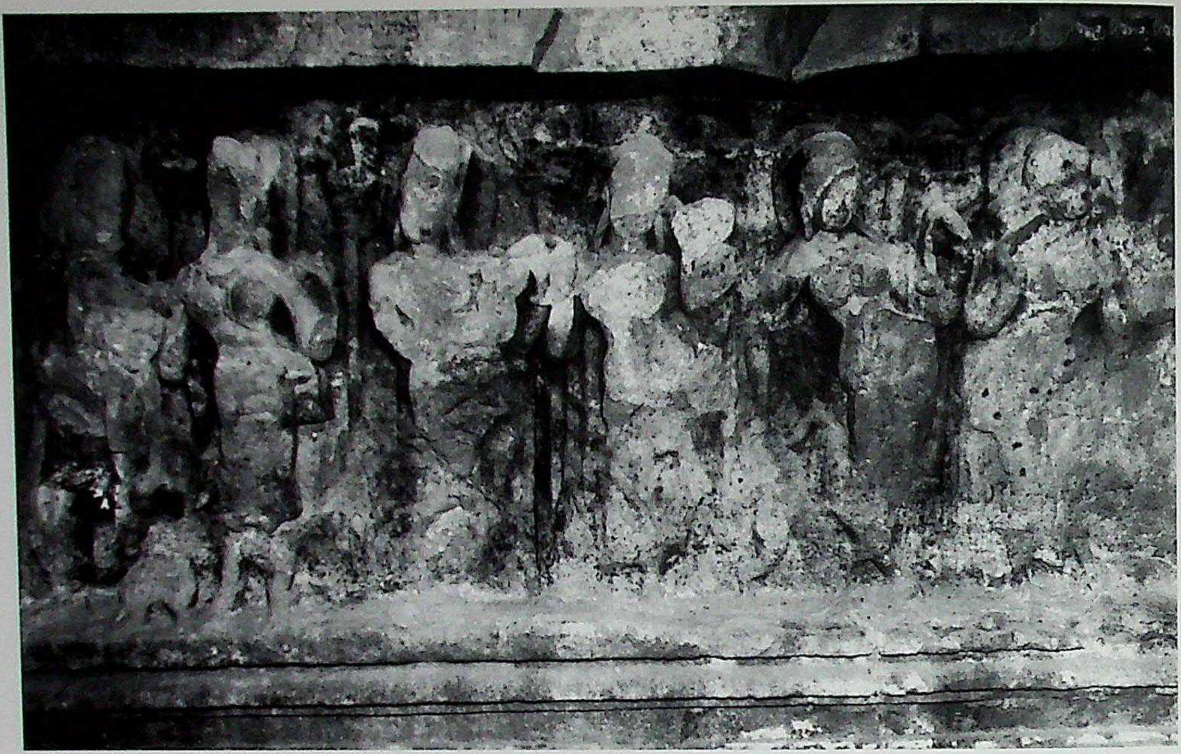
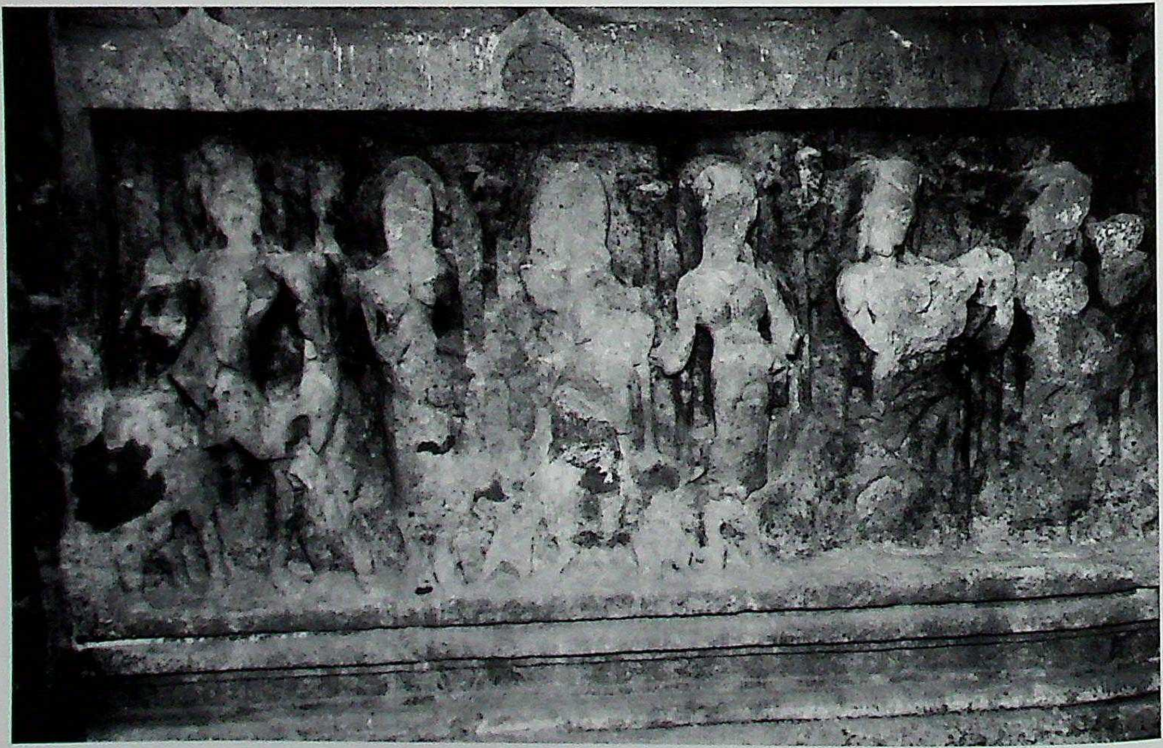


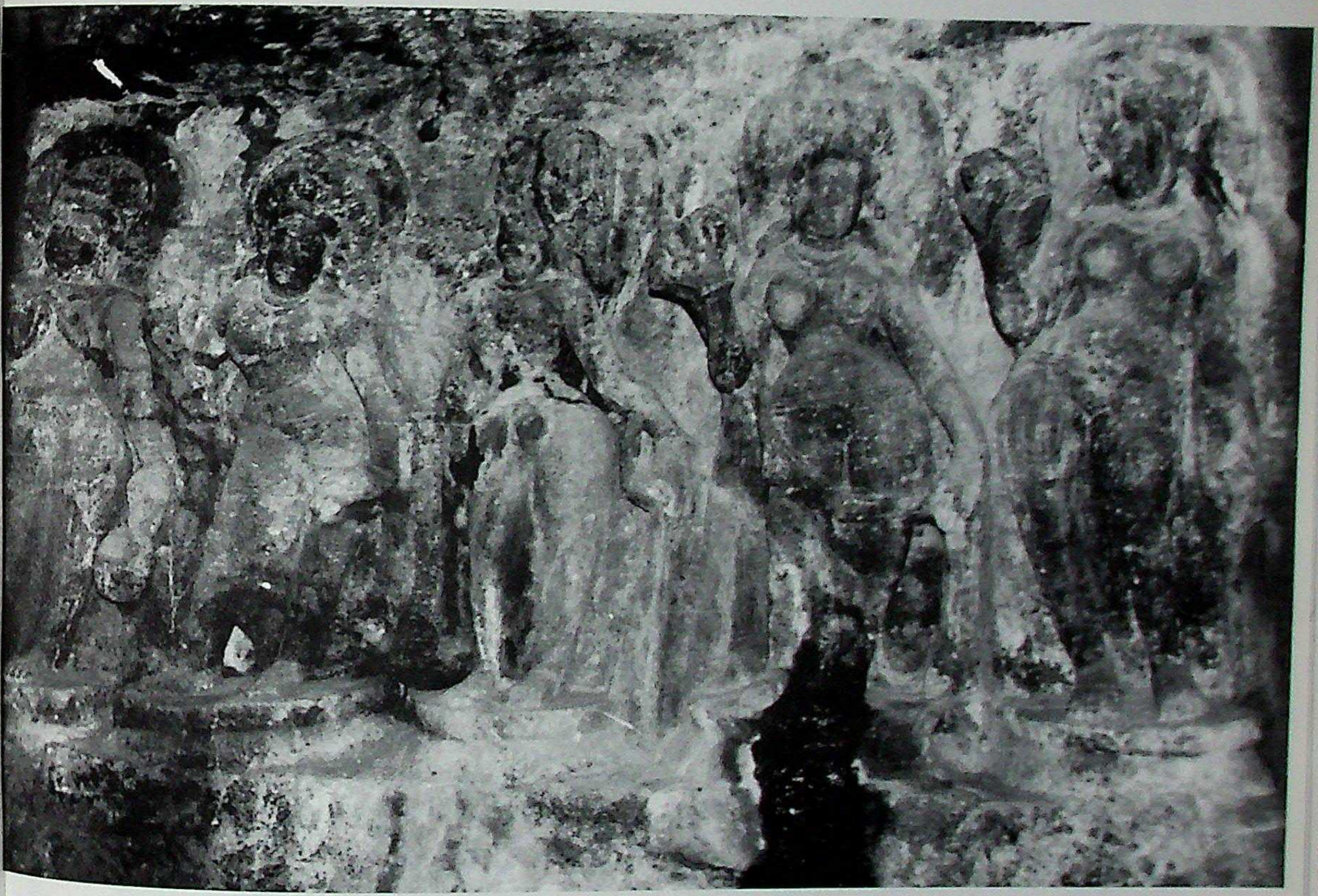
Pl. IX. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Udayagiri (Gupta) (AIIS).



Pl. X. Sapta Mātṛkas, Elephanta (AIIS).



Pl. XI. Sapta Mātṛkas, Elephanta (AIIS).



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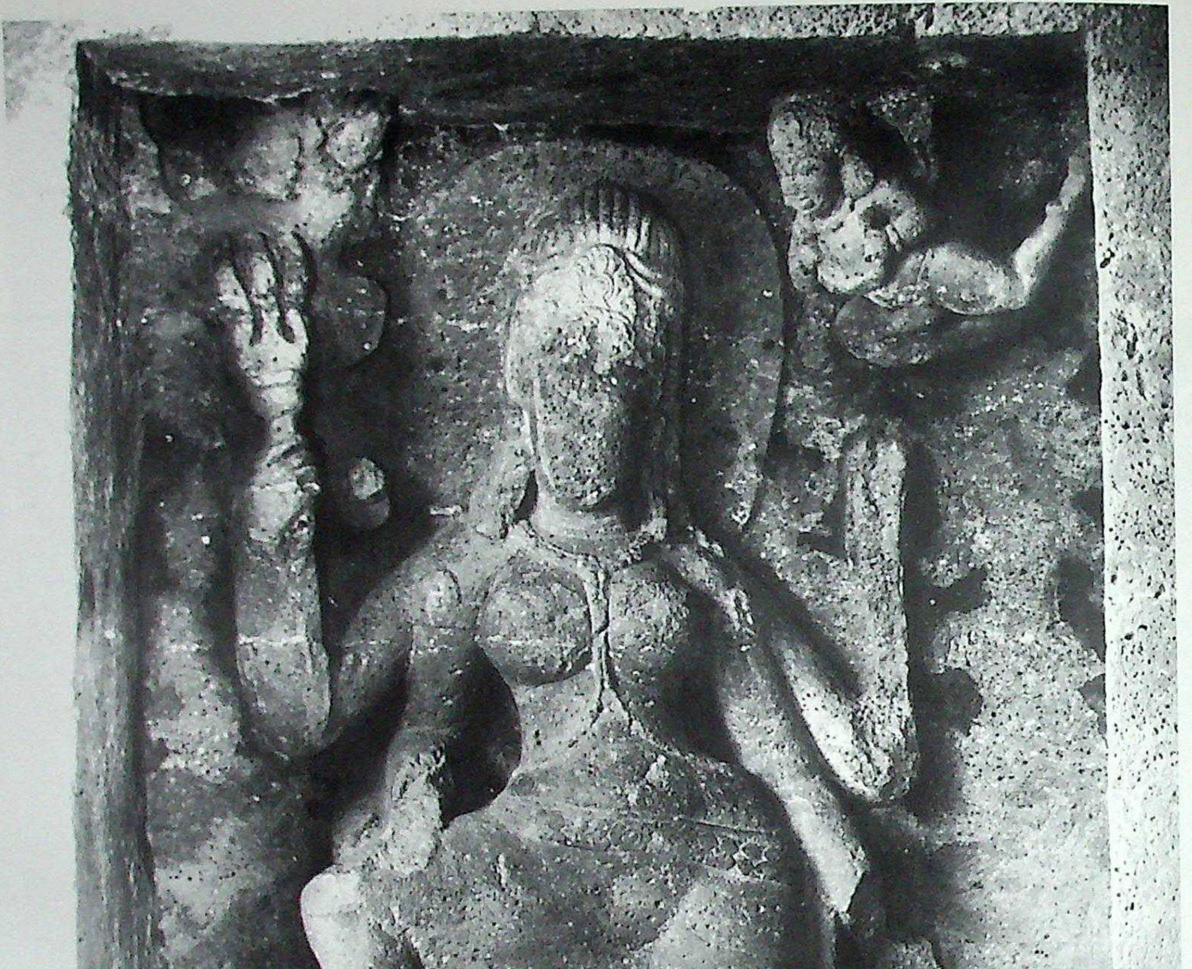
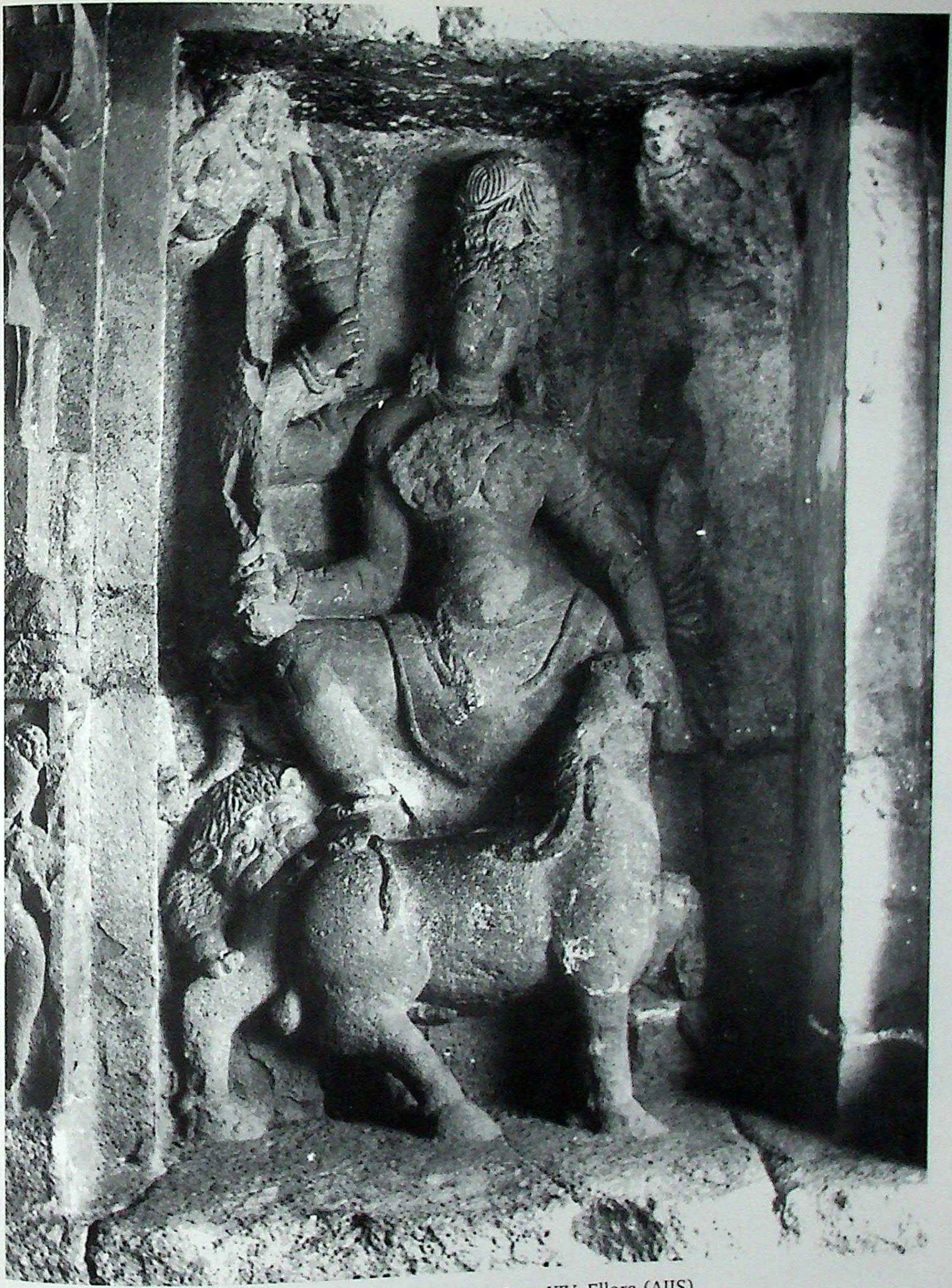


Pl. XIII. Siṁhavāhinī, Cave XIV, Ellora (AIIS).



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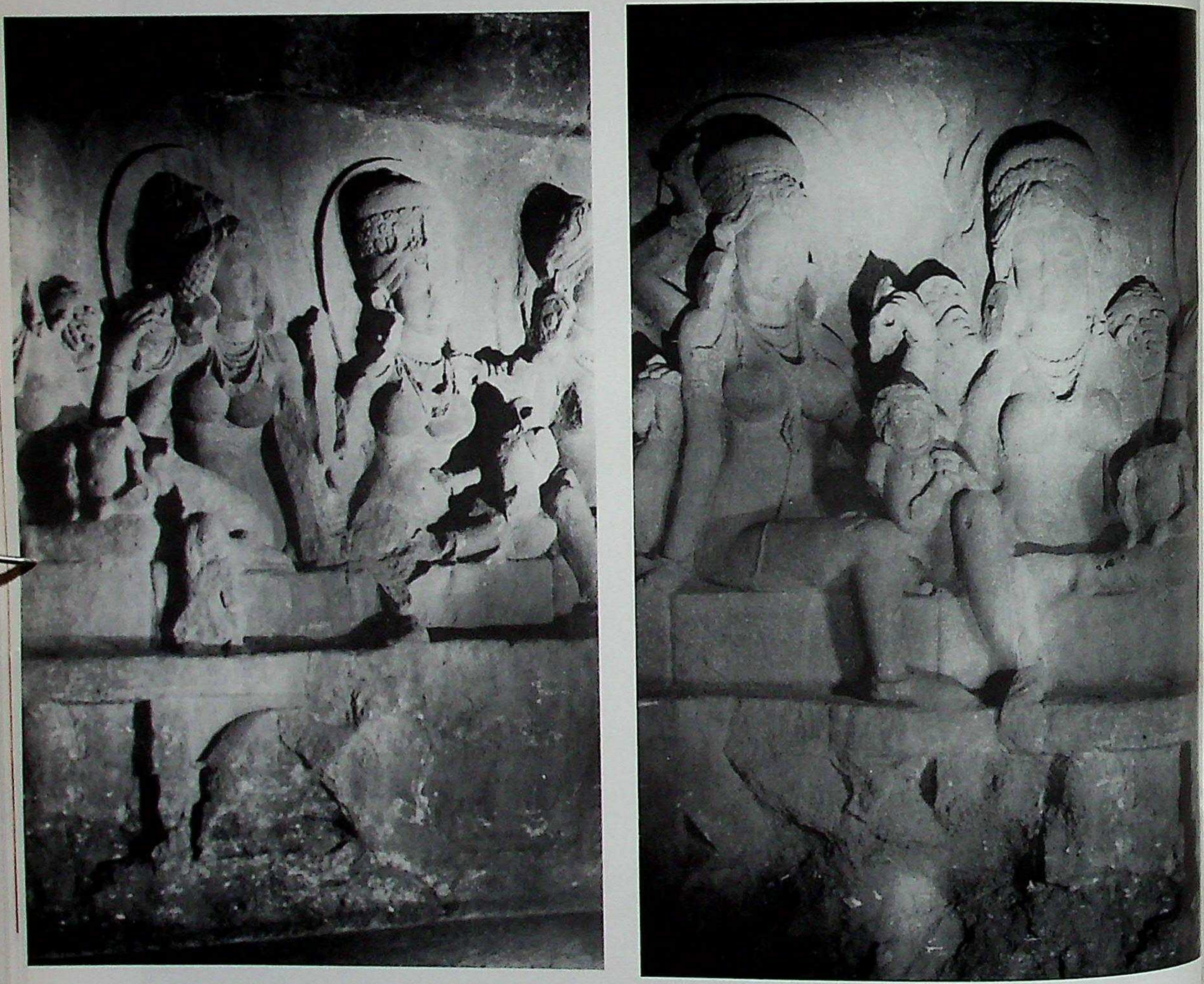
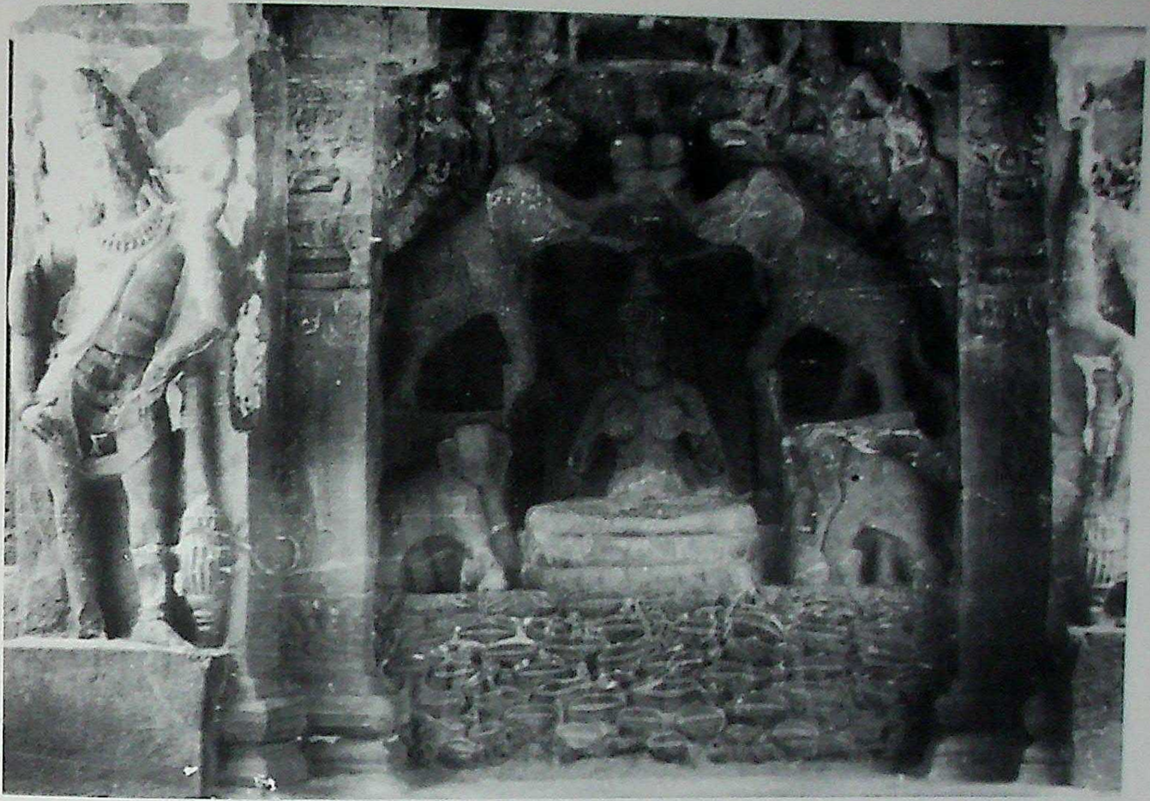
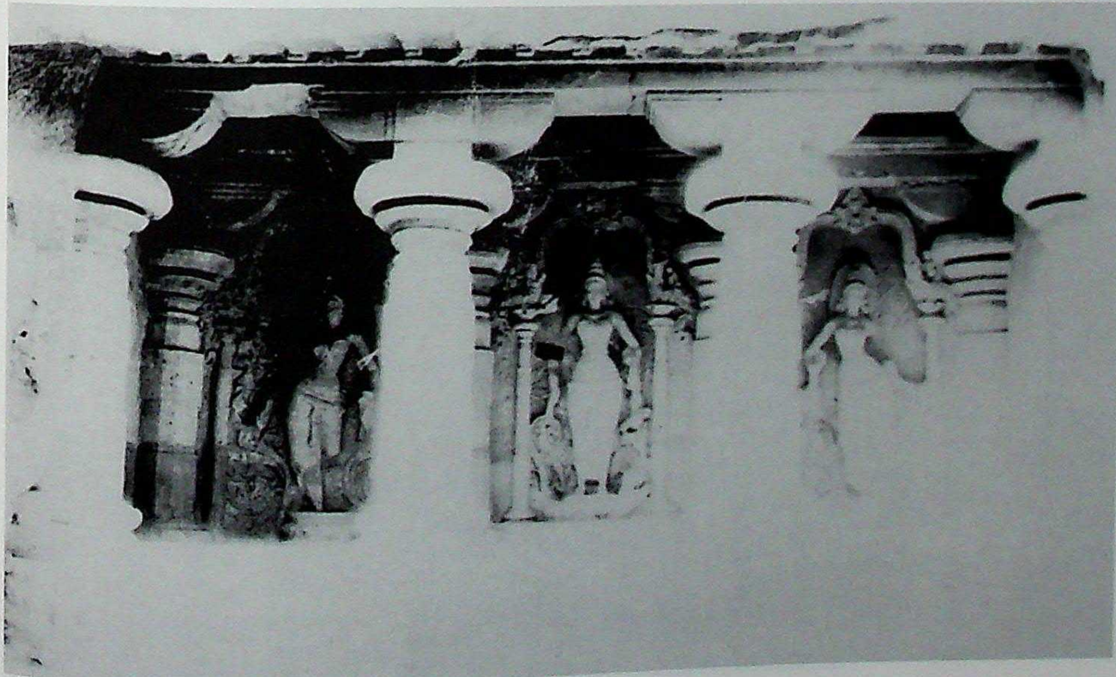
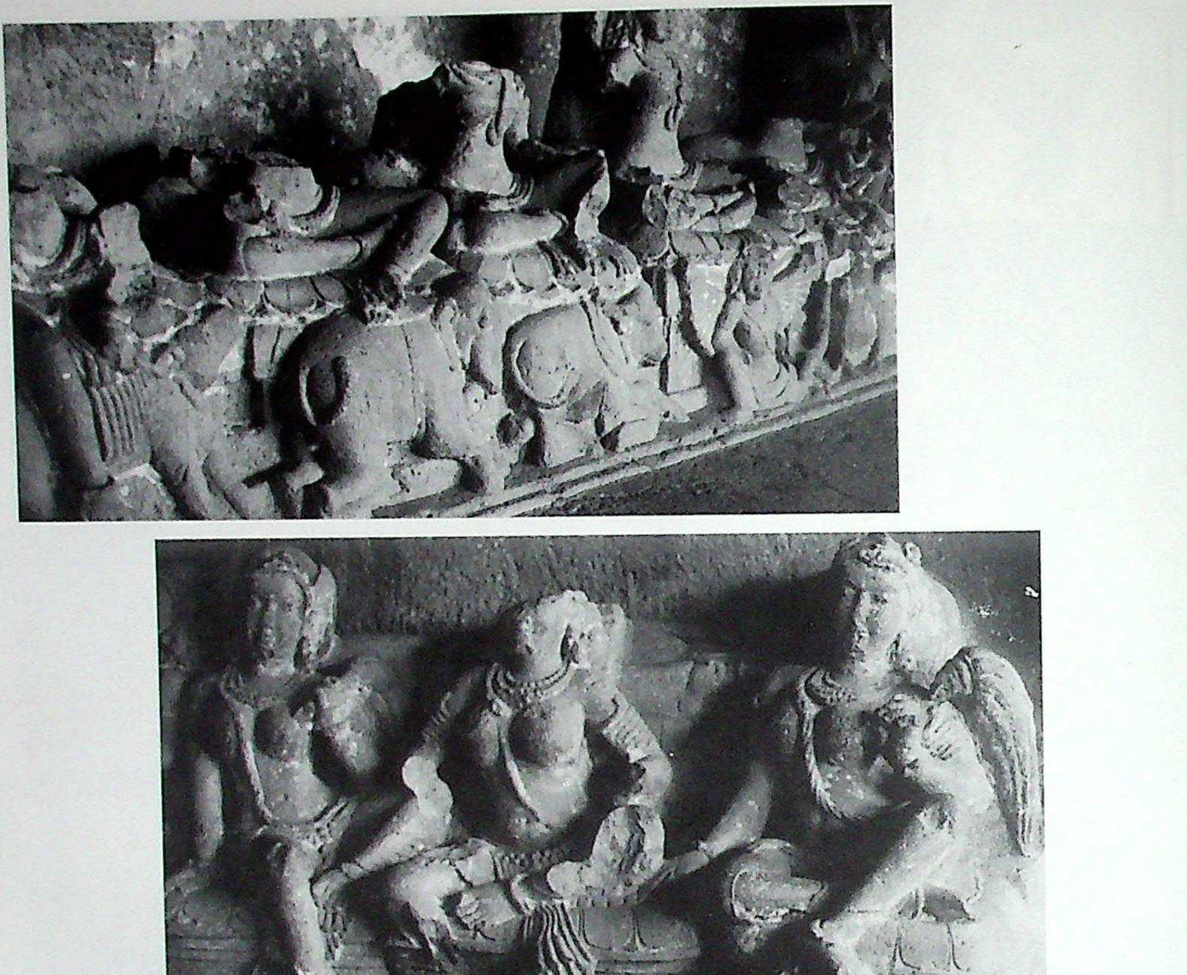


Pl. XV. Sapta Mātṛkas, Cave XIV, Ellora.





Pl. XVI. Ellora, Cave XVI: 1. Gajalakṣmī, 2. River Goddesses.



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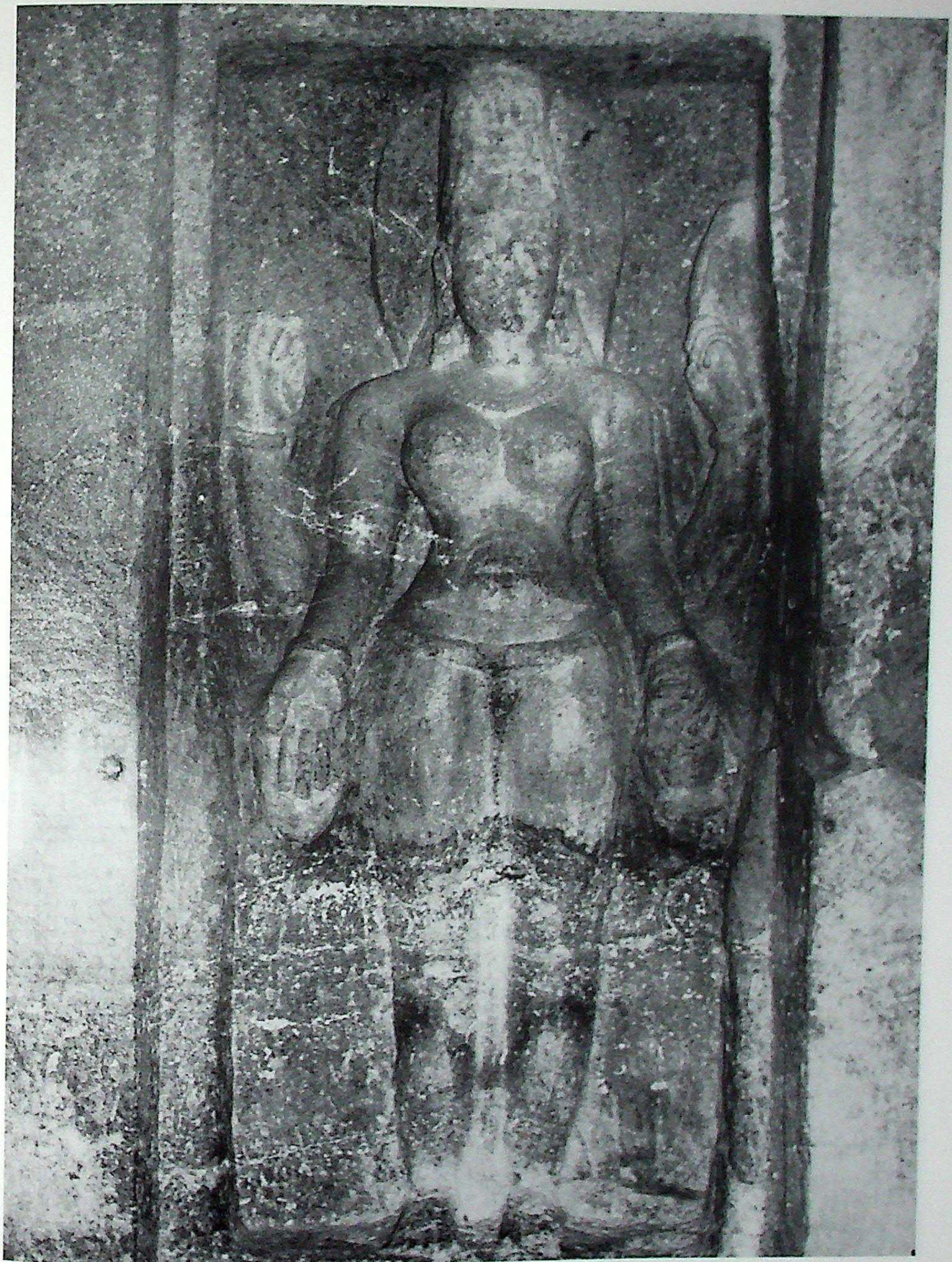

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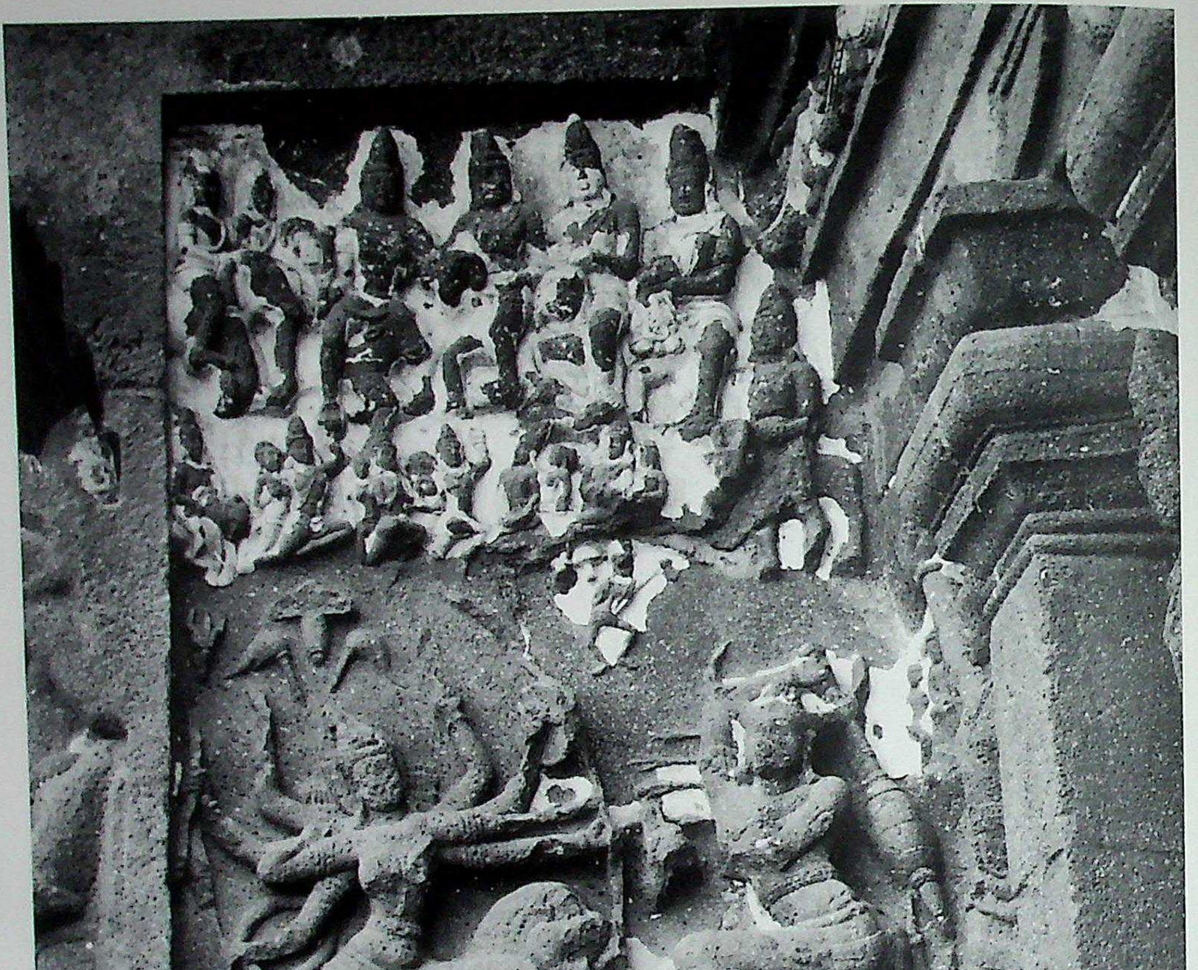
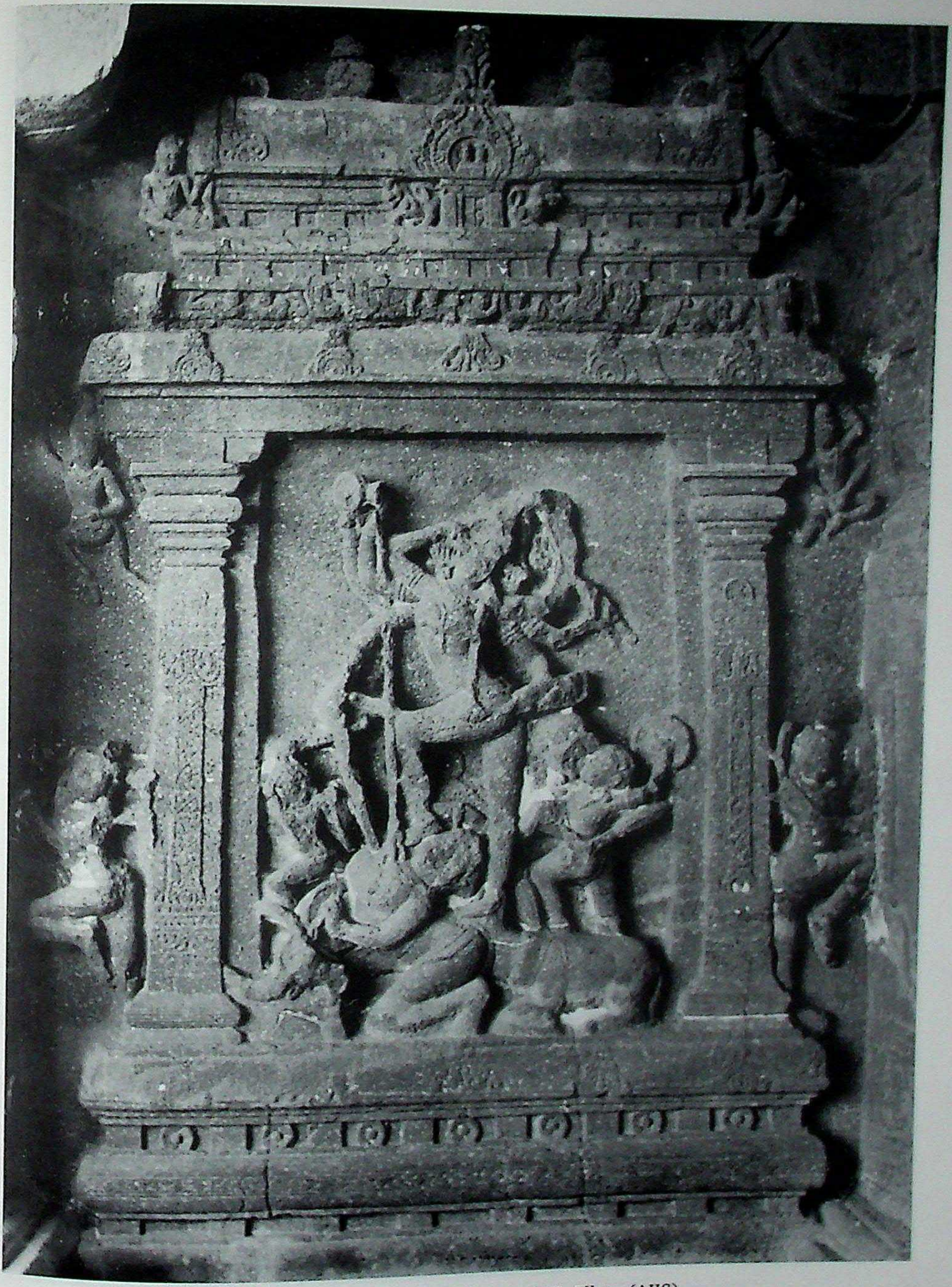
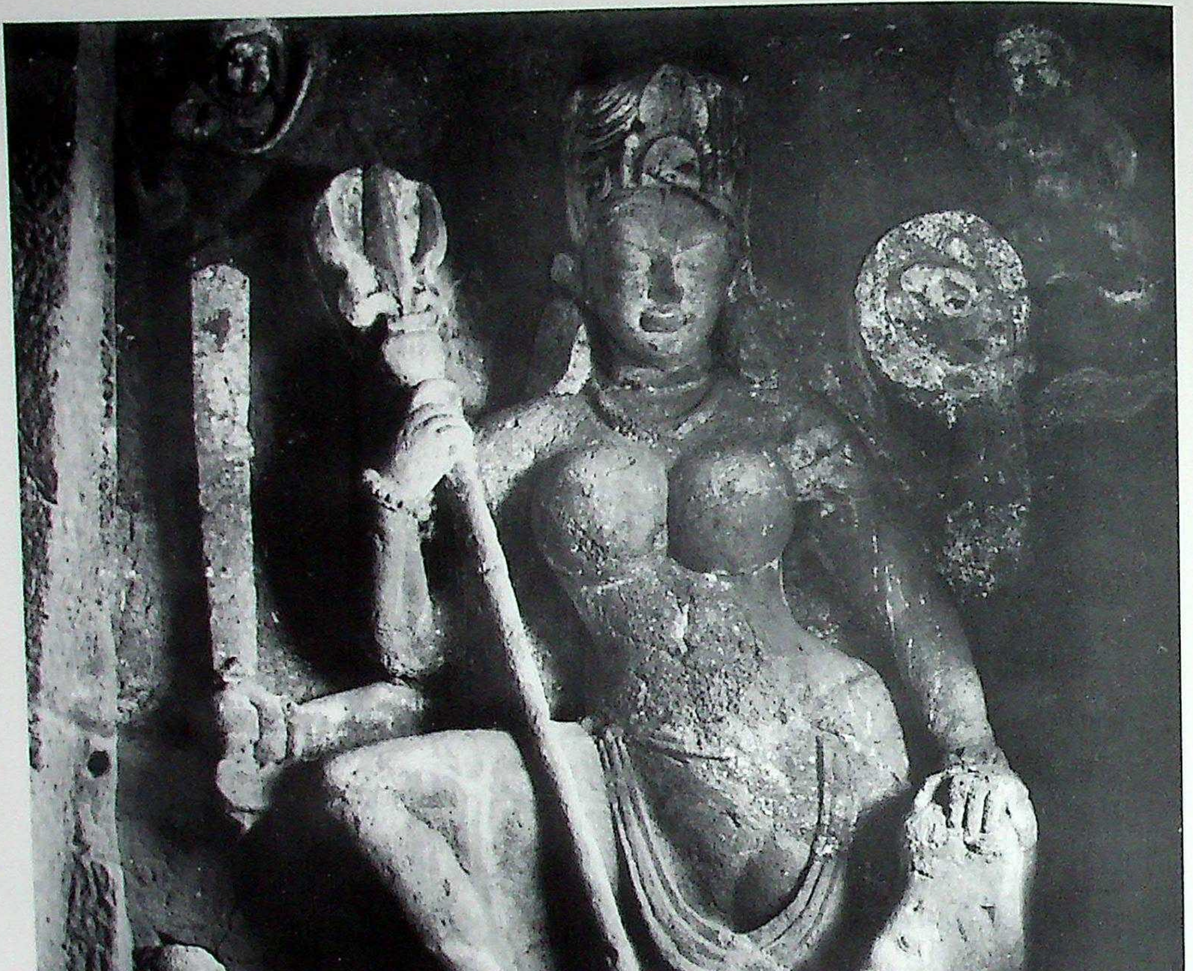


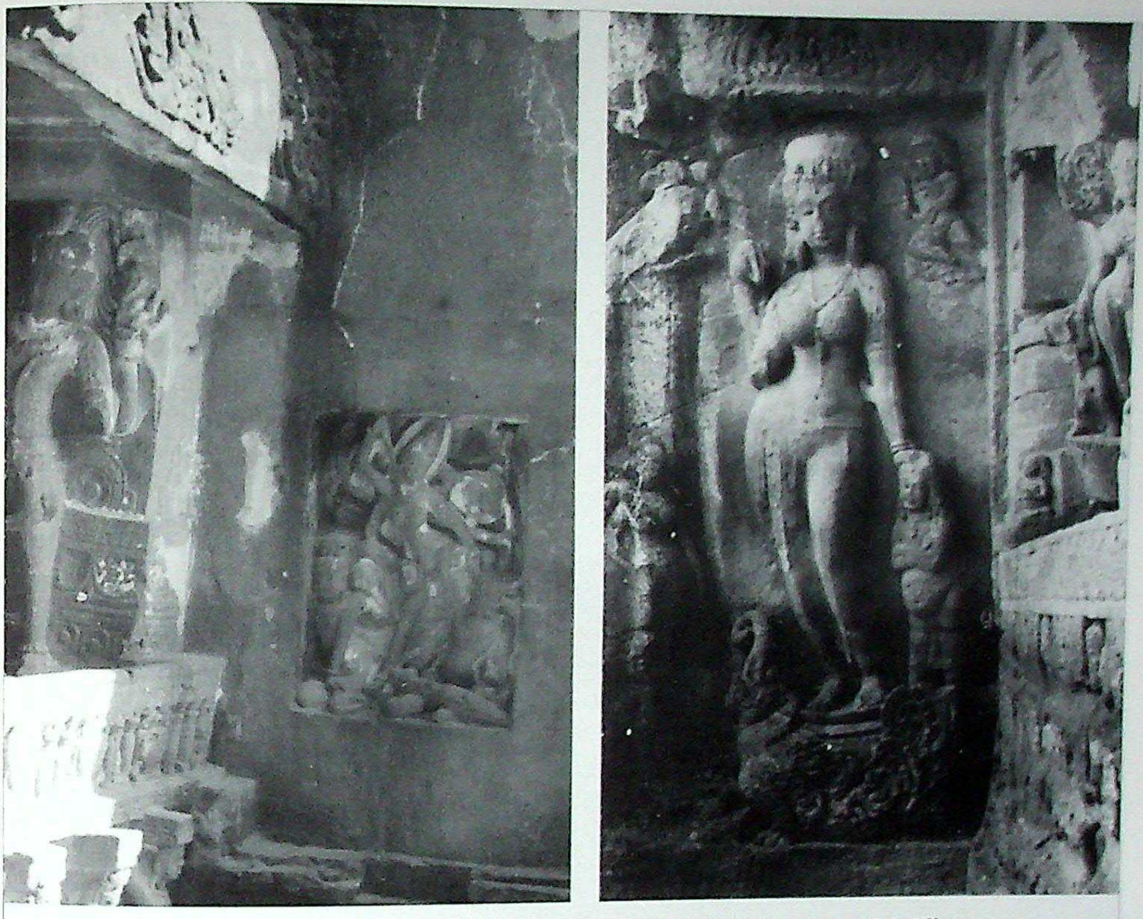
Pl. XIX. Devī fighting with Mahiṣāsura, Cave XVI, Ellora (AIIS).



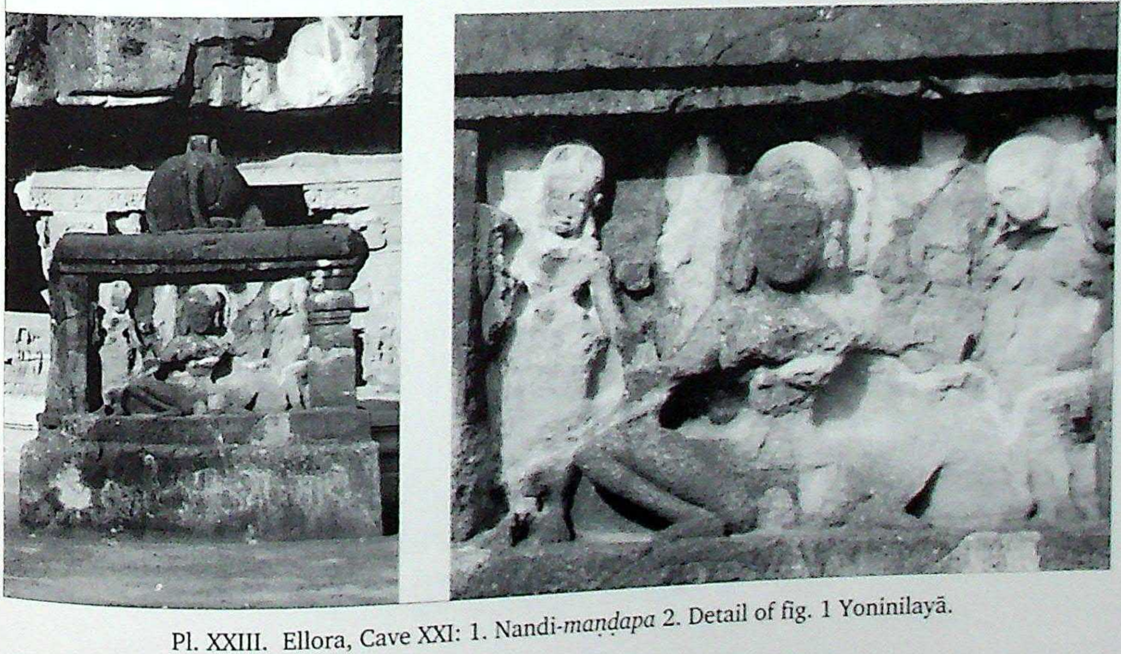
Pl. XX. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Cave XVI, Ellora (AIIS).



Pl. XXI. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Cave XVII (AIIS).



Pl. XXII.1. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Laṅkeśvara, Ellora; 2. Gaṅgā, Cave XXI, Ellora.



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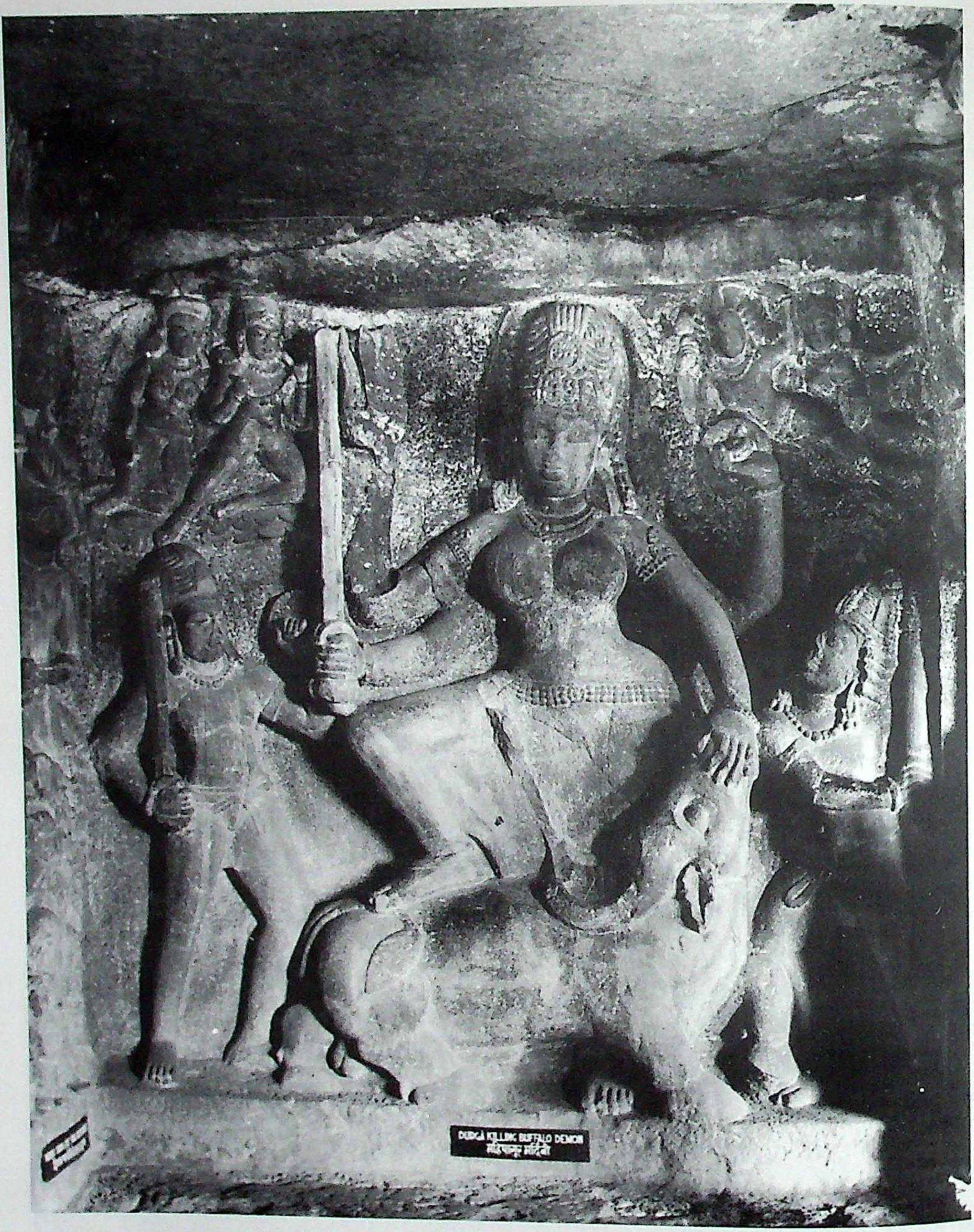
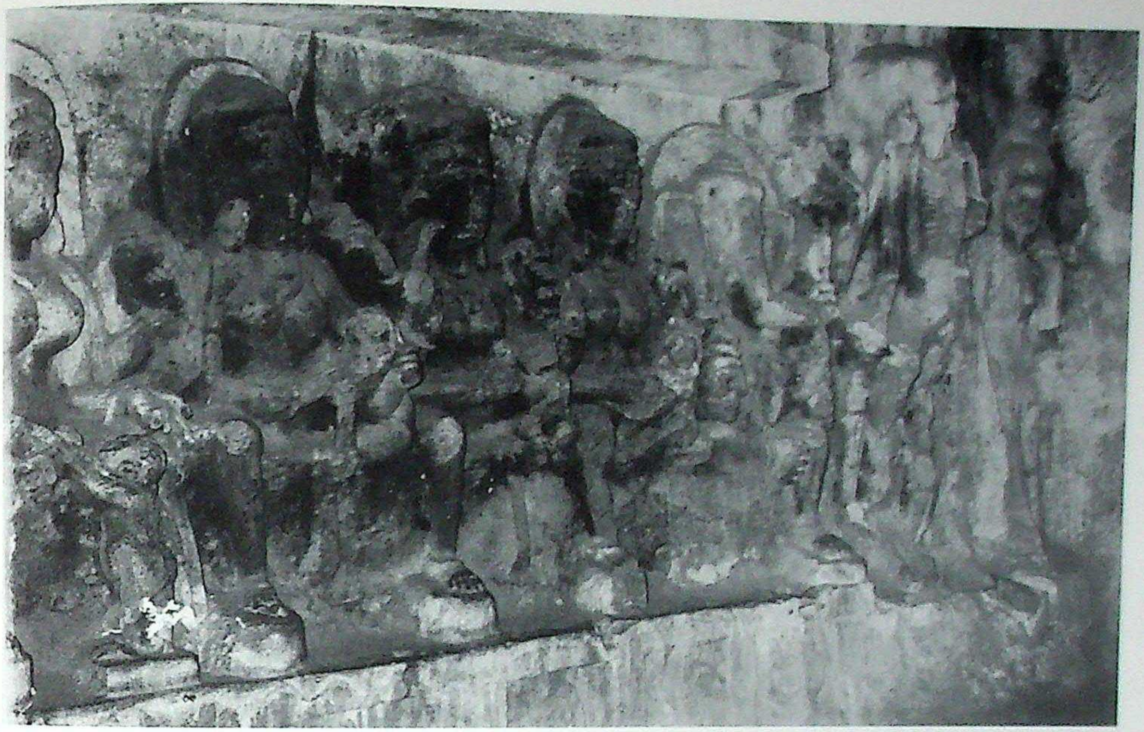
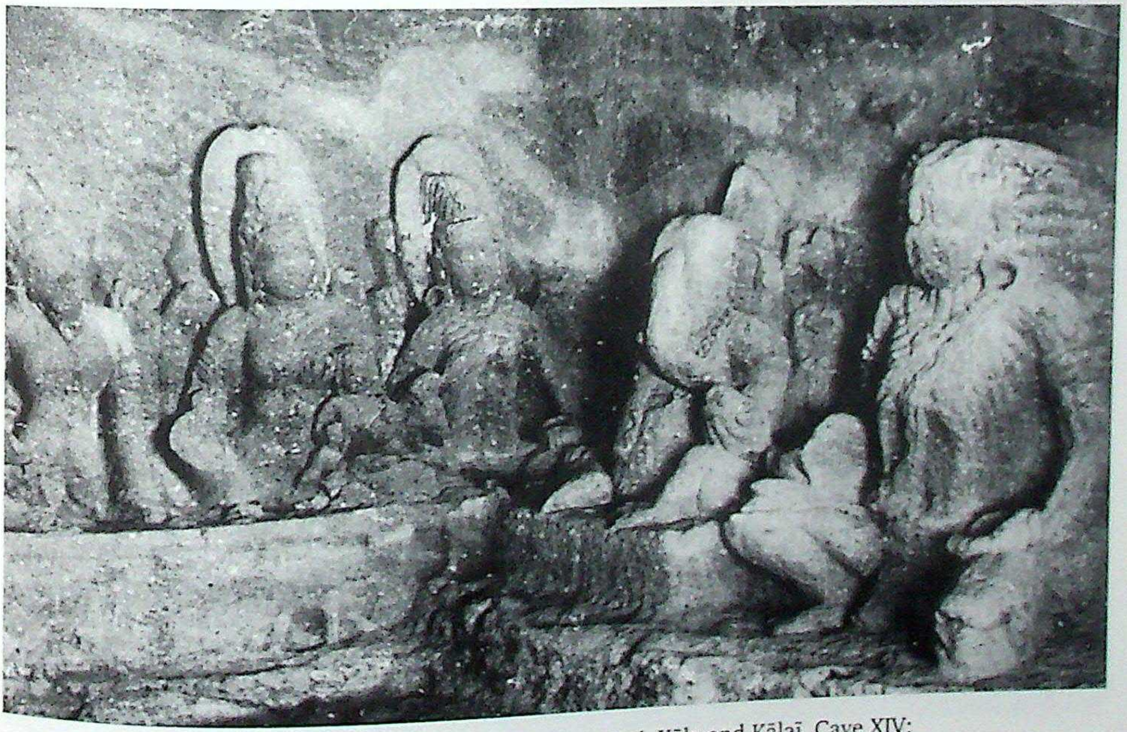

DURGA KILLING BUFFALO DEMON

Pl. XXIV. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Cave XXI, Ellora (AIIS)





Pl. XXV. Ellora 1. The Mātṛkas, Gaṇapati, Kāla and Kālaī, Cave XIV;
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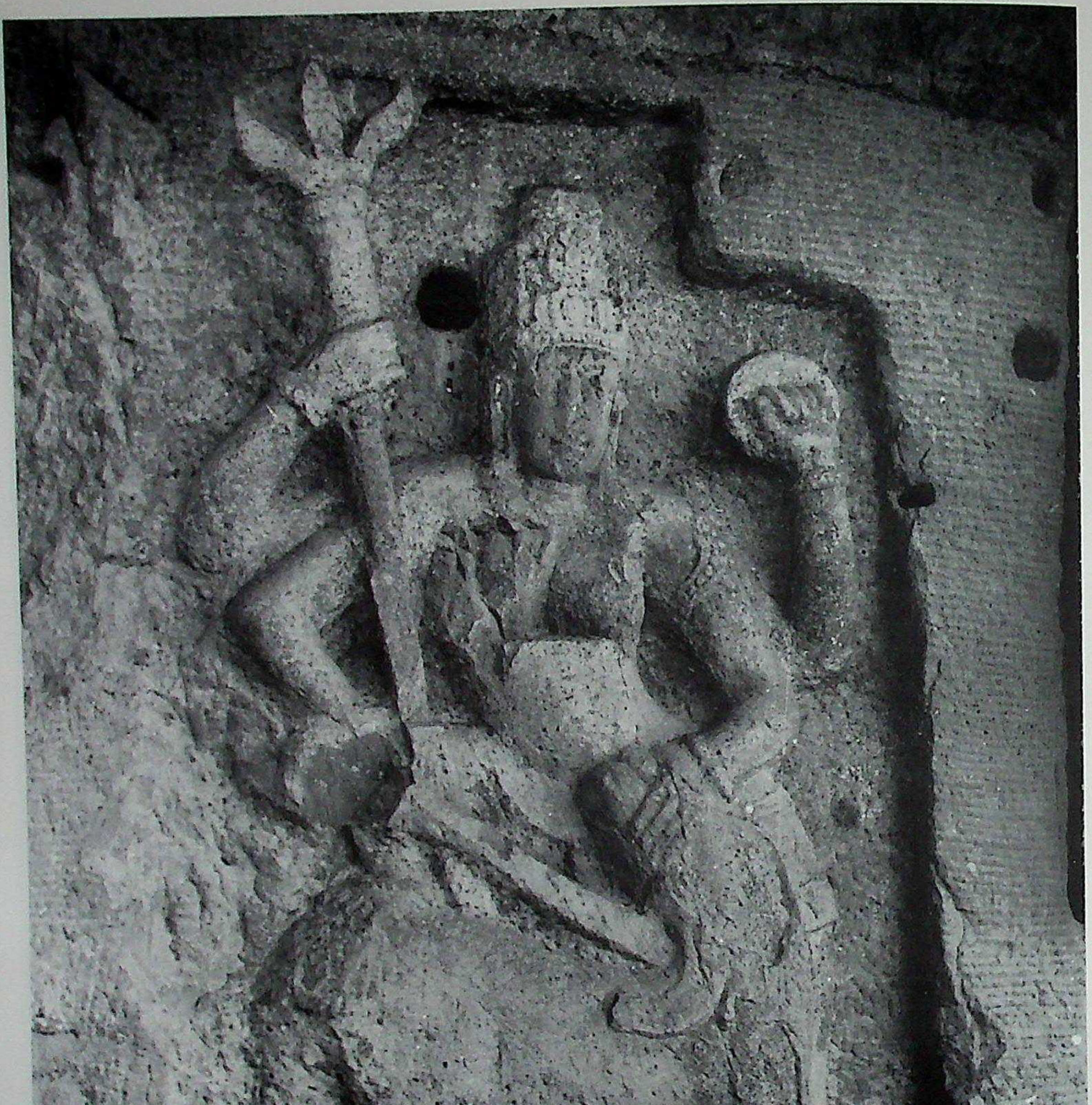
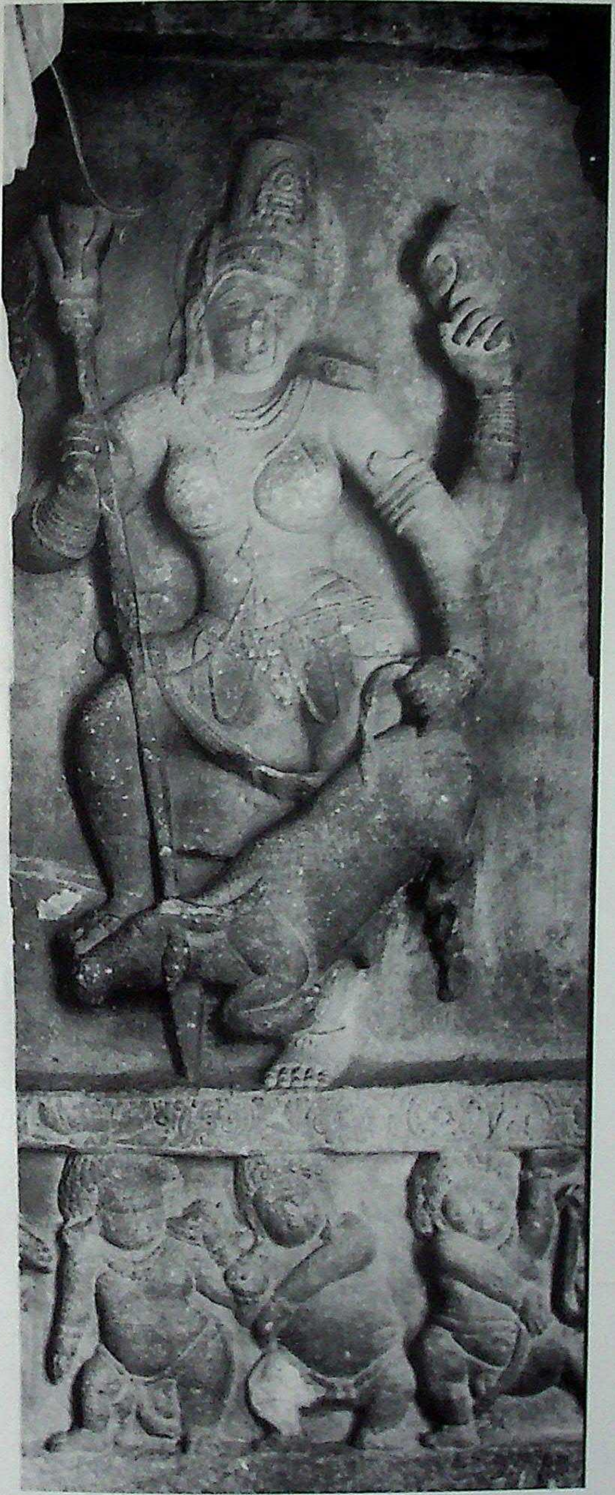
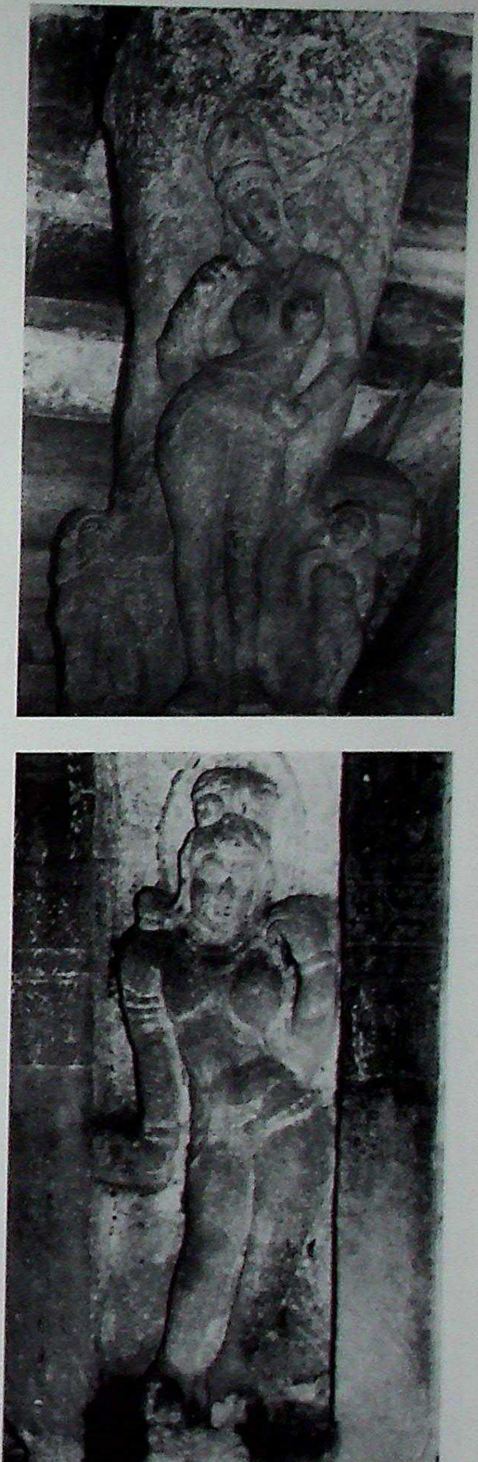


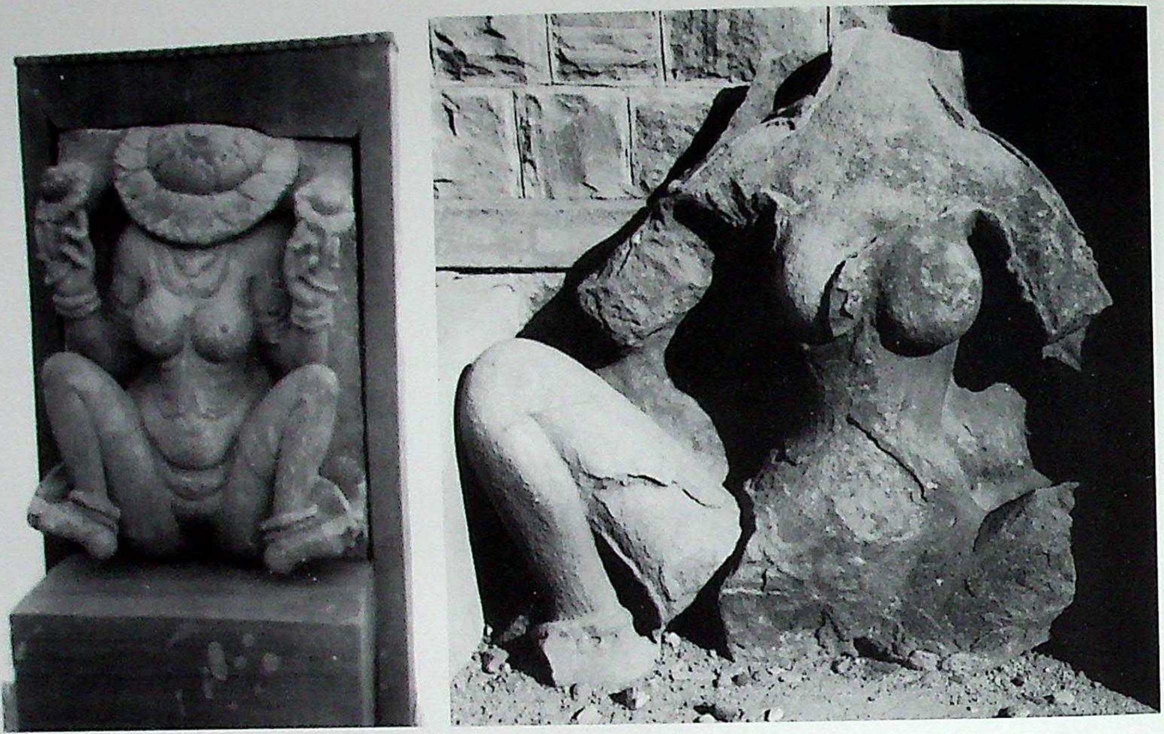
Pl. XXVI. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Cave XXVII, Ellora.



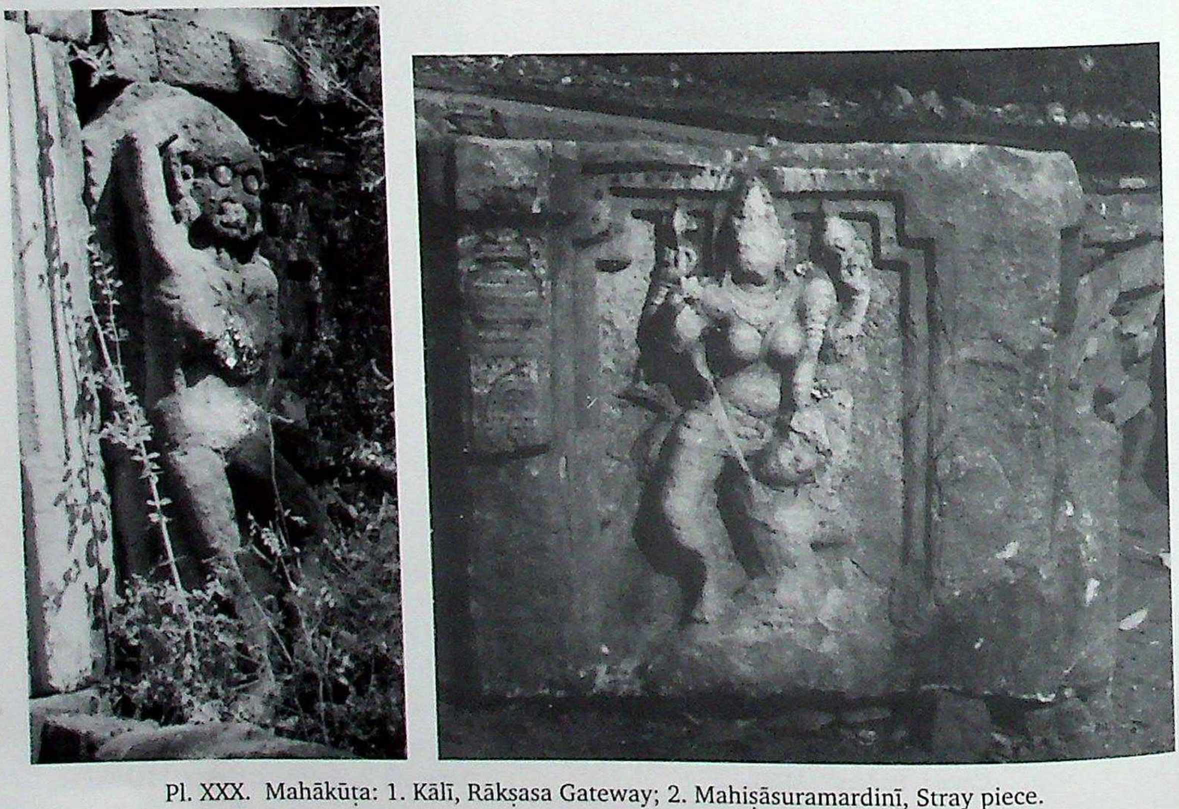
Pl. XXVII. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Cave I, Badāmī (AIIS).



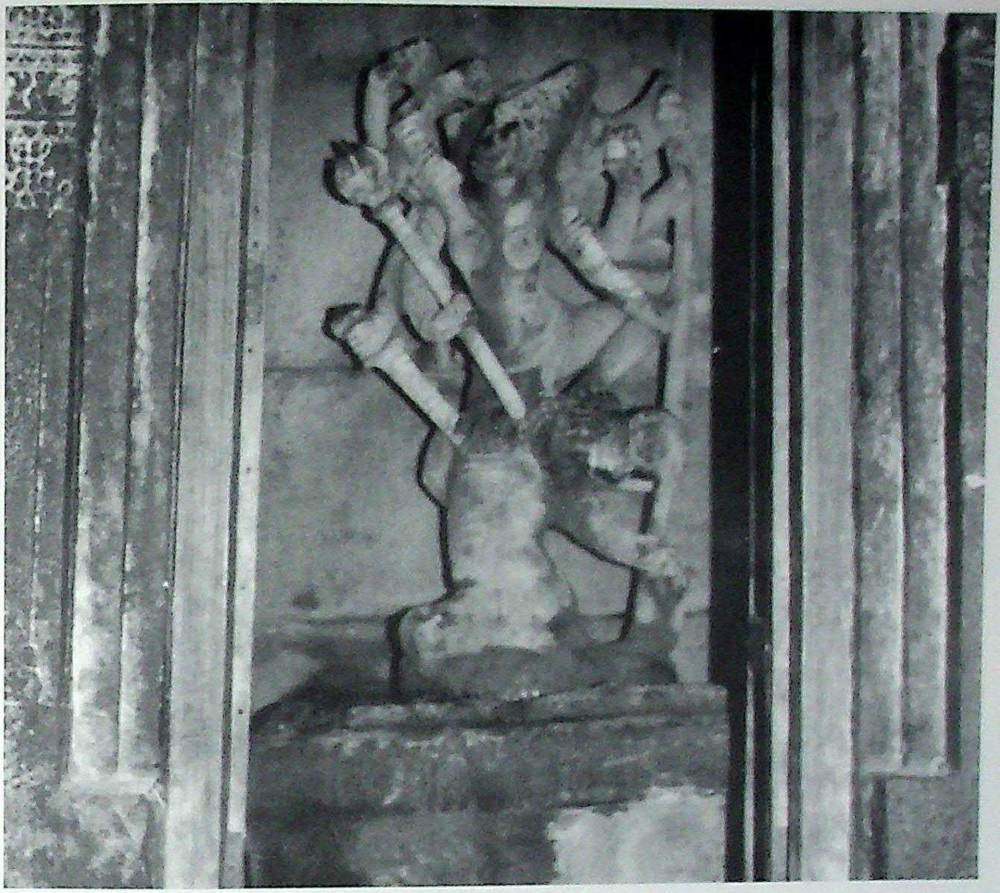
Pl. XXVIII.1. Bracket motif on pillar, Badāmī, Cave III; 2. Ardhanārīśvara, Mahākūṭa.

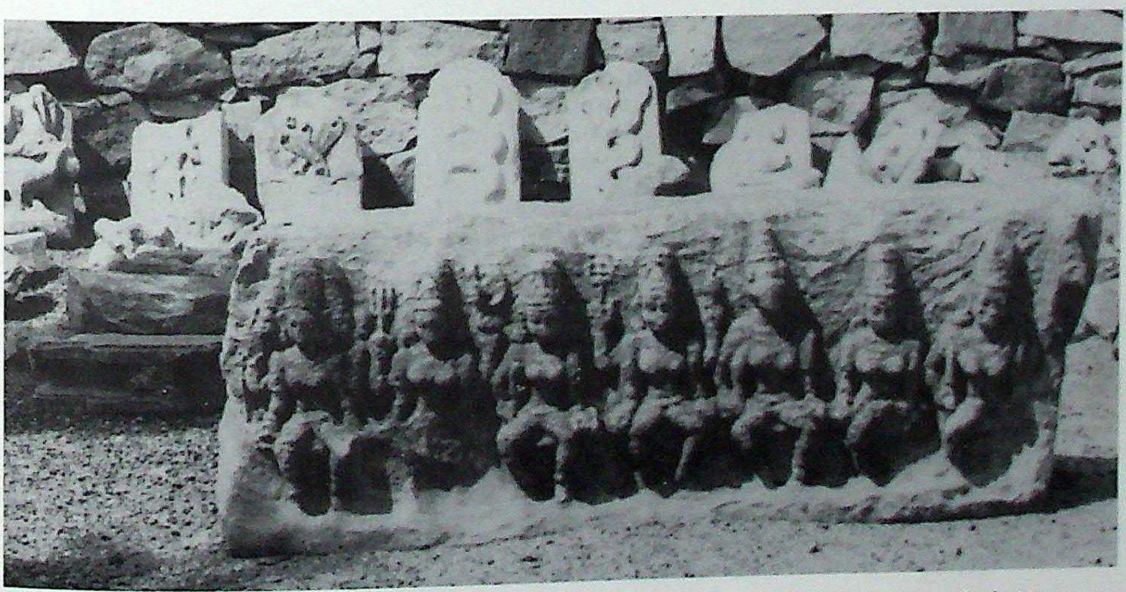


Pl. XXIX. Yoninilayā: 1. Badāmī Museum; 2. Stray piece, Mahākūṭa.

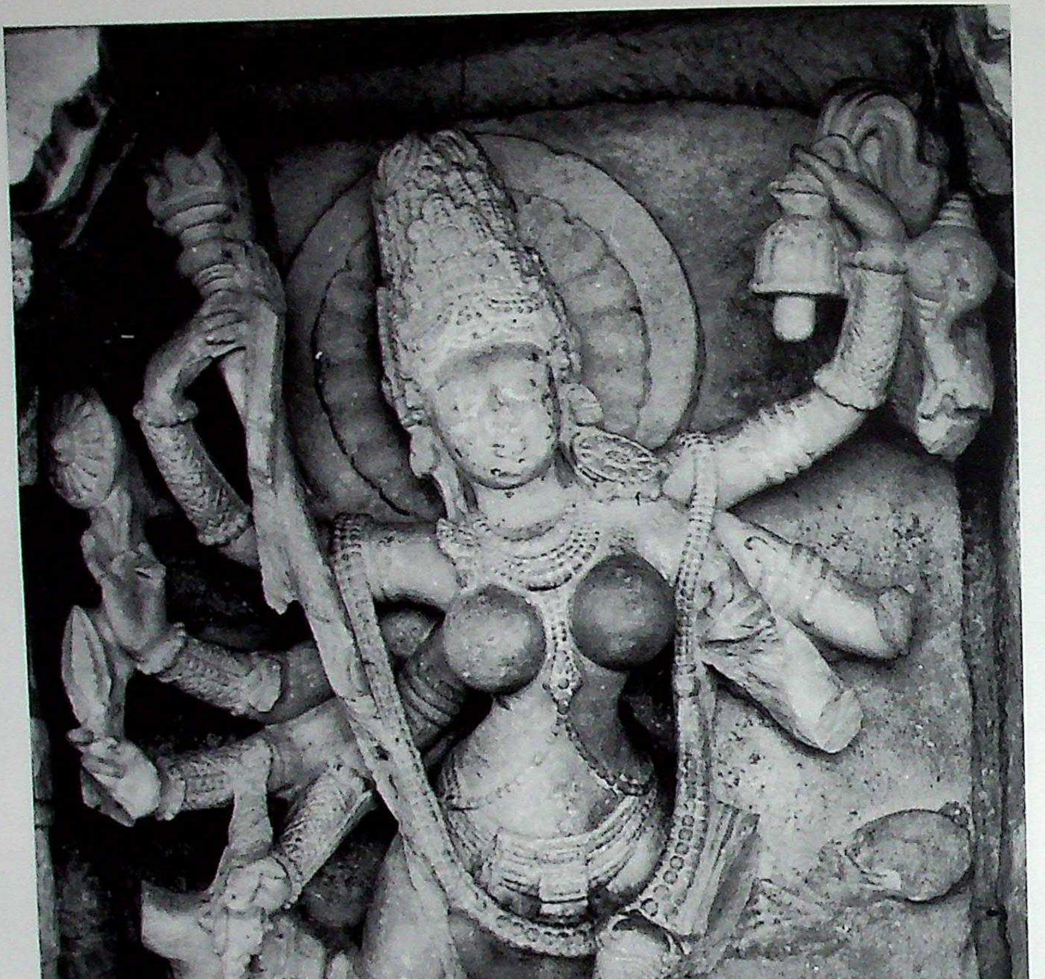


Pl. XXX. Mahākūṭa: 1. Kālī, Rākṣasa Gateway; 2. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Stray piece.

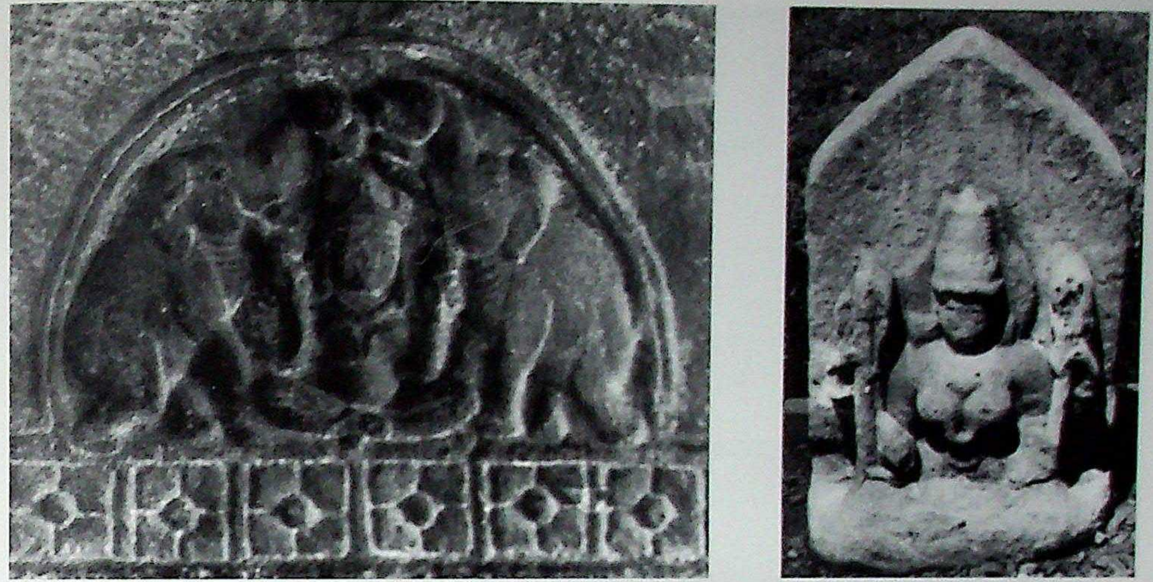




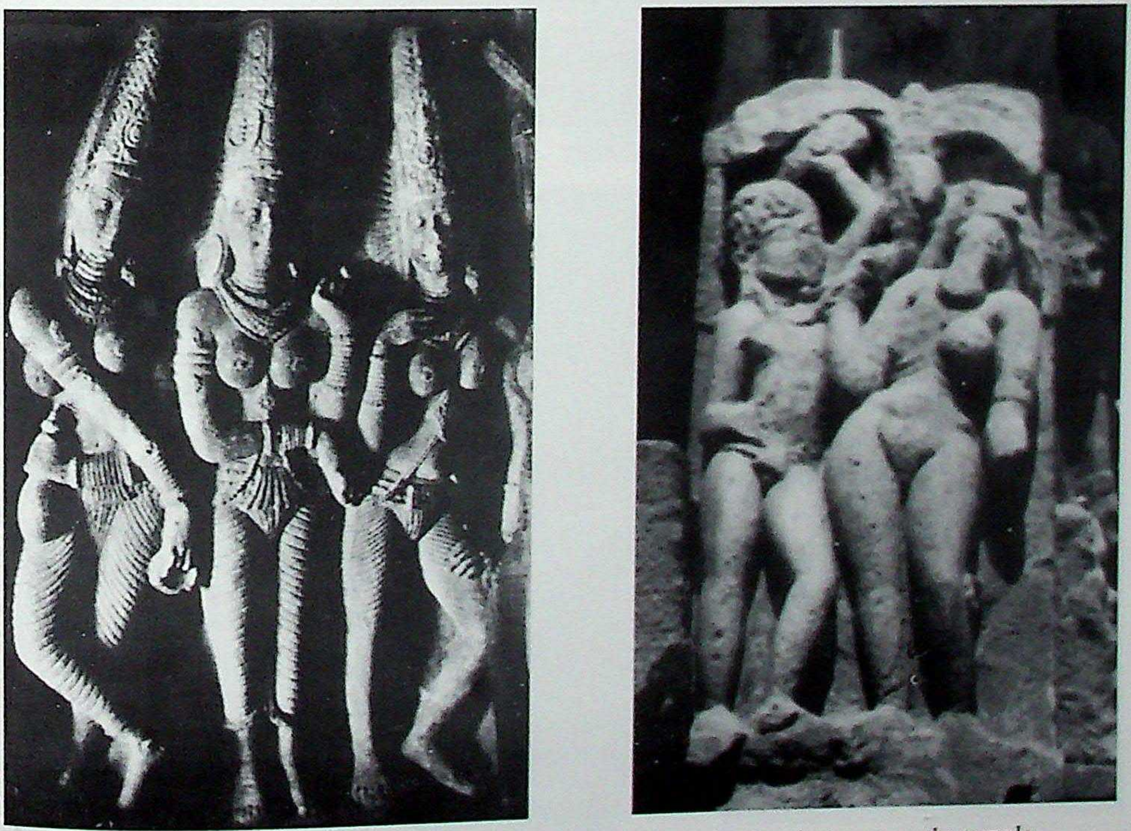
Pl. XXXI.1. Devī slaughtering demon, Virūpākṣa temple, Paṭṭadakkal; 2. Sapta Mātṛkas, Aihole Museum.



Pl. XXXII. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Durgā temple, Aihole (AIIS).



Pl. XXXIII. Aihole: 1. Gajalakṣmī, Lad Khan temple; 2. Devī, Aihole Museum.



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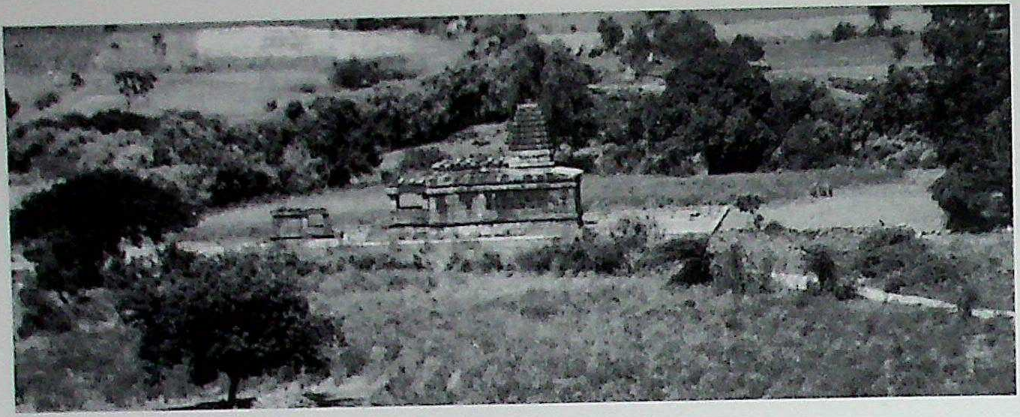
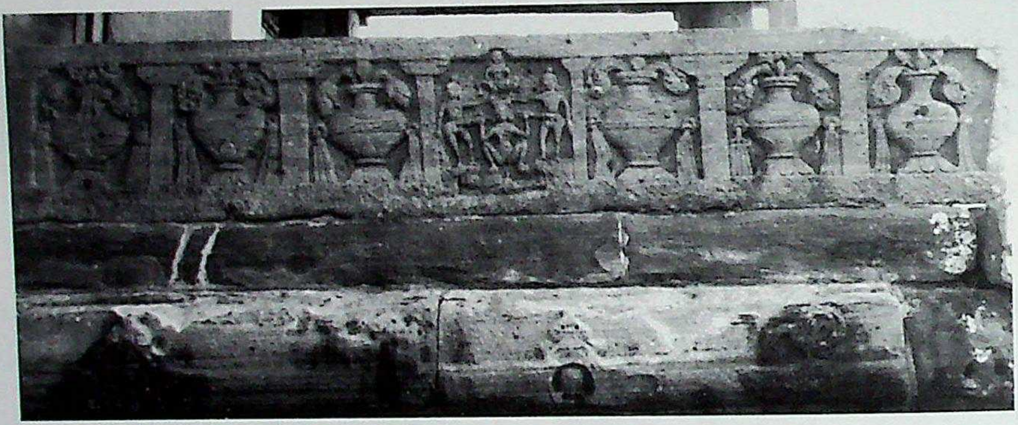
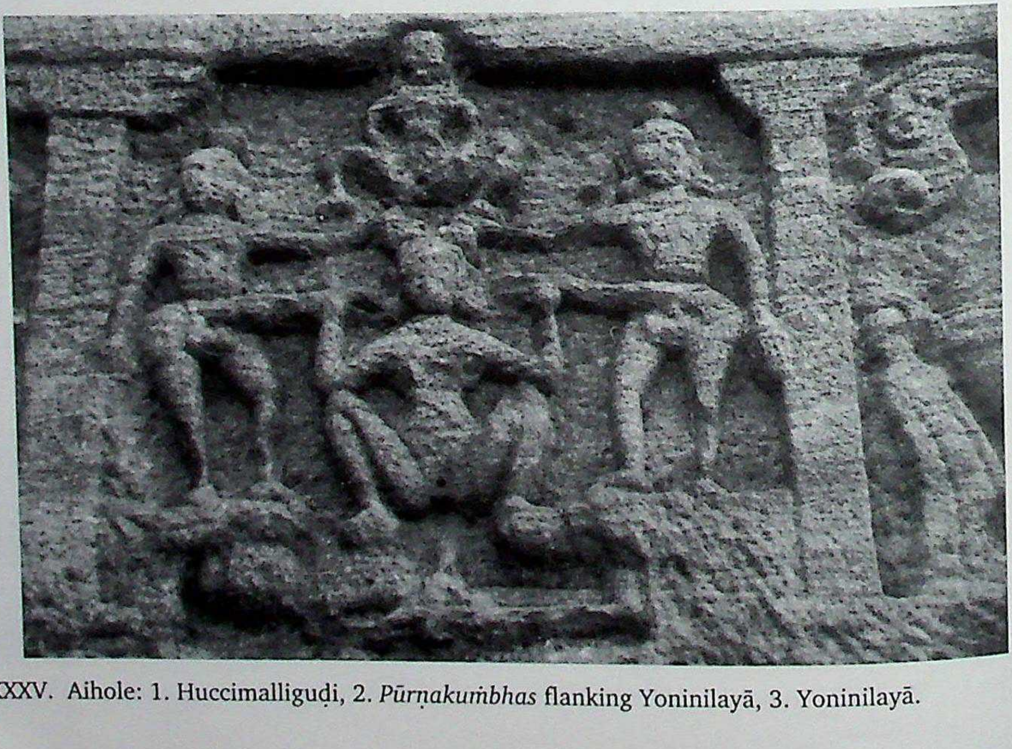
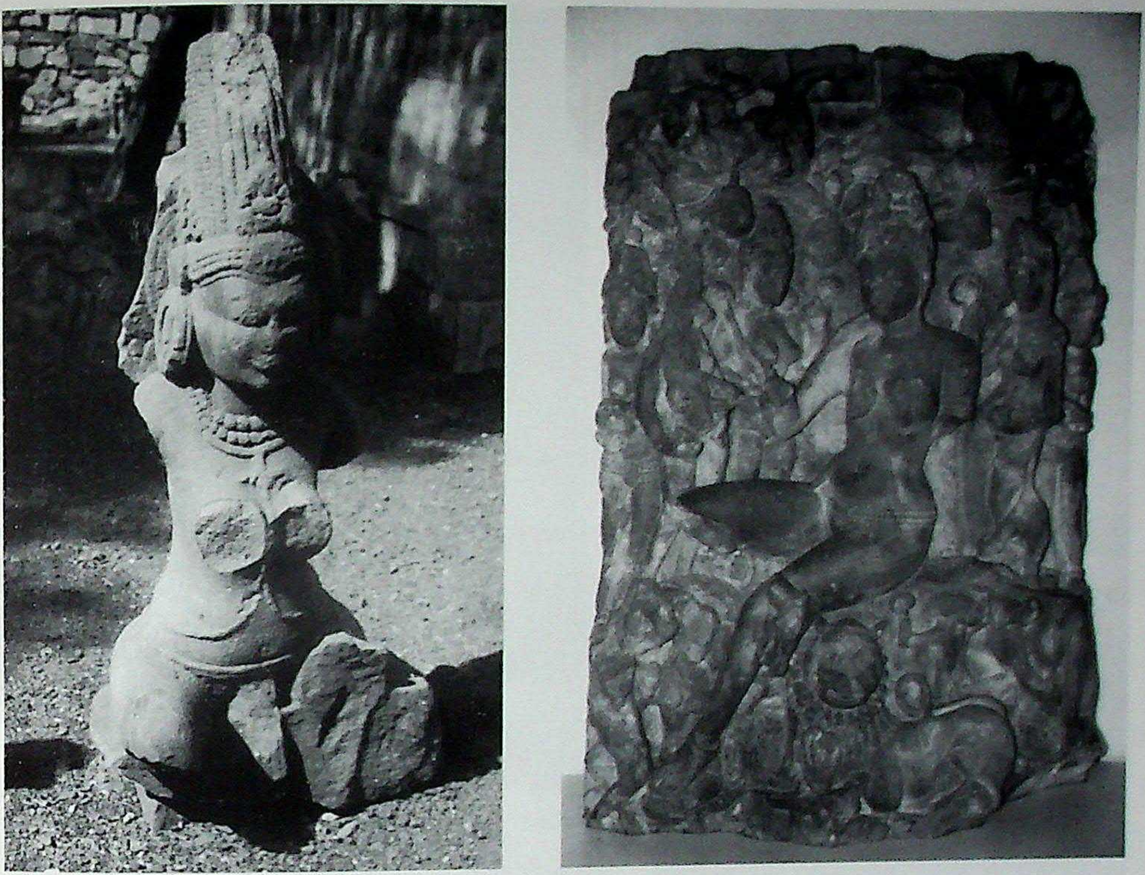


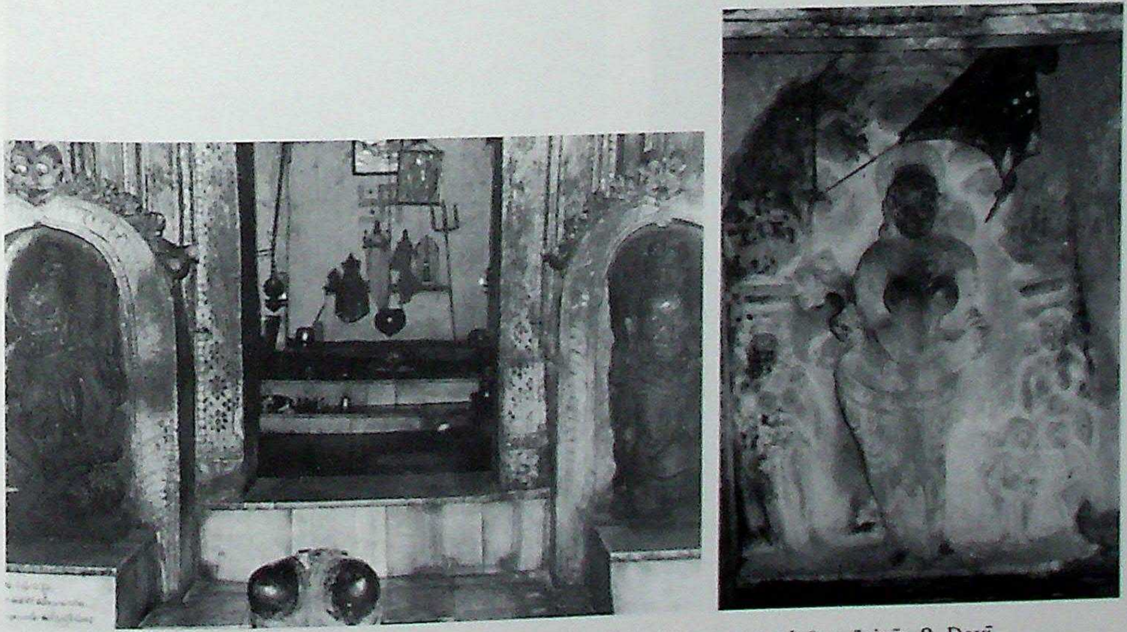




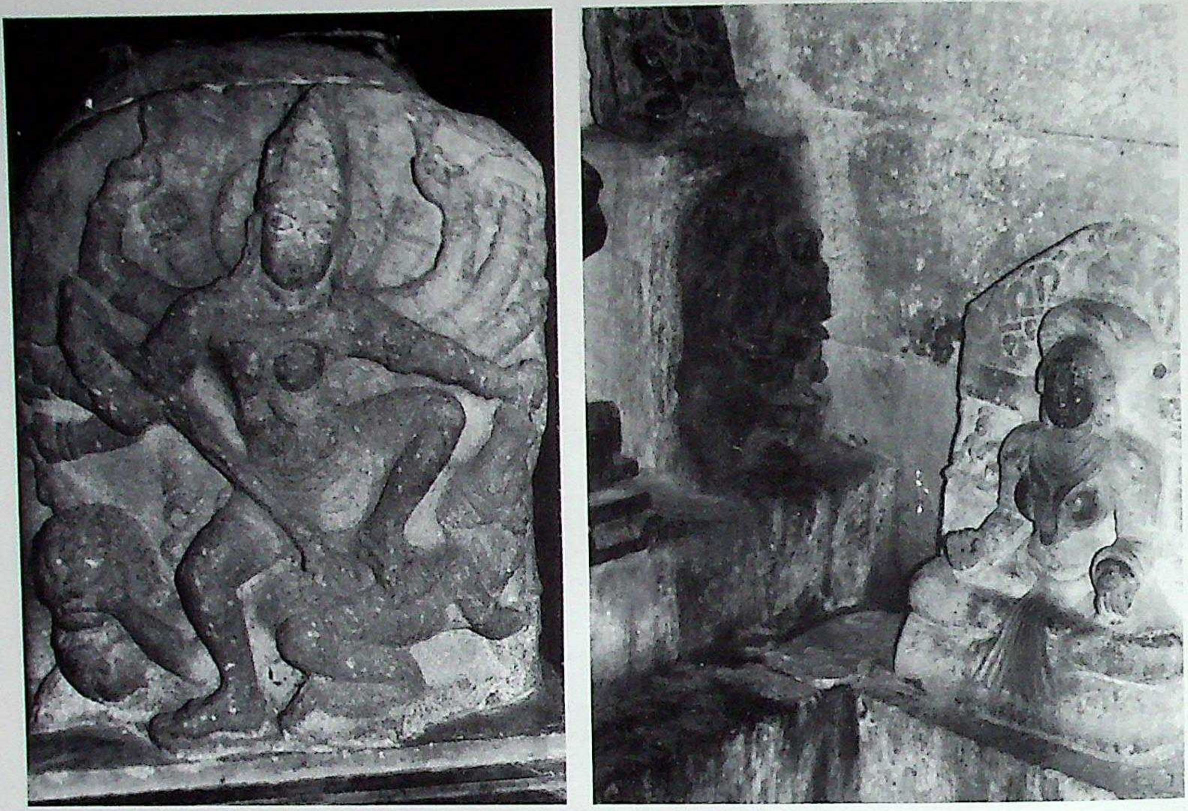
Pl. XXXV. Aihole: 1. Huccimalliguḍi, 2. *Pūrṇakuṁbhas* flanking Yoninilayā, 3. Yoninilayā.



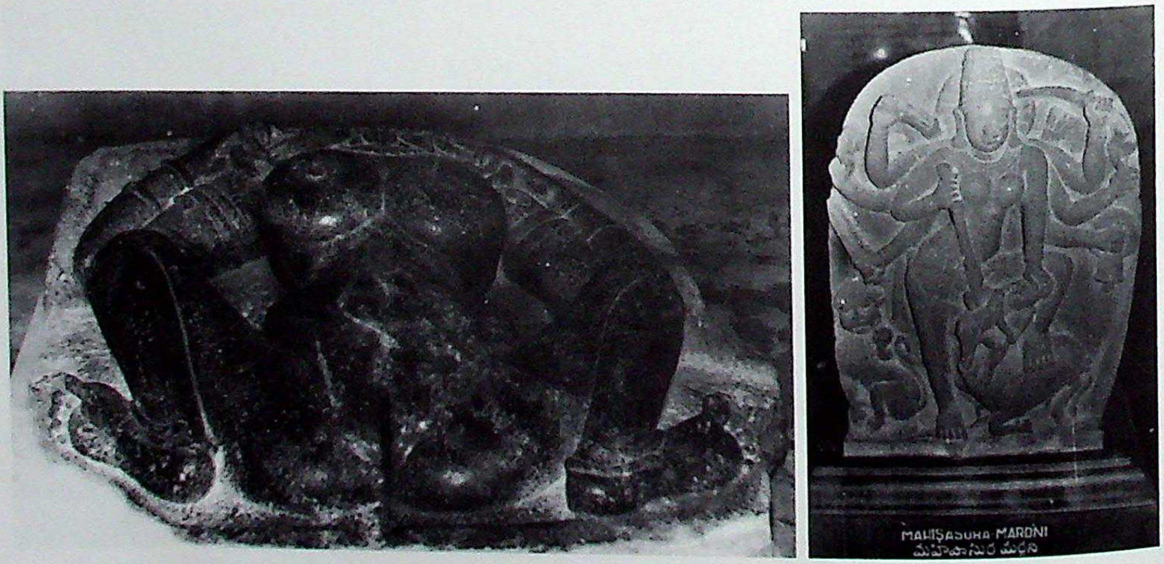
Pl. XXXVI. Aihole Museum: 1. Broken image of Devī 2. Kumārasaṁbhava-Devī.



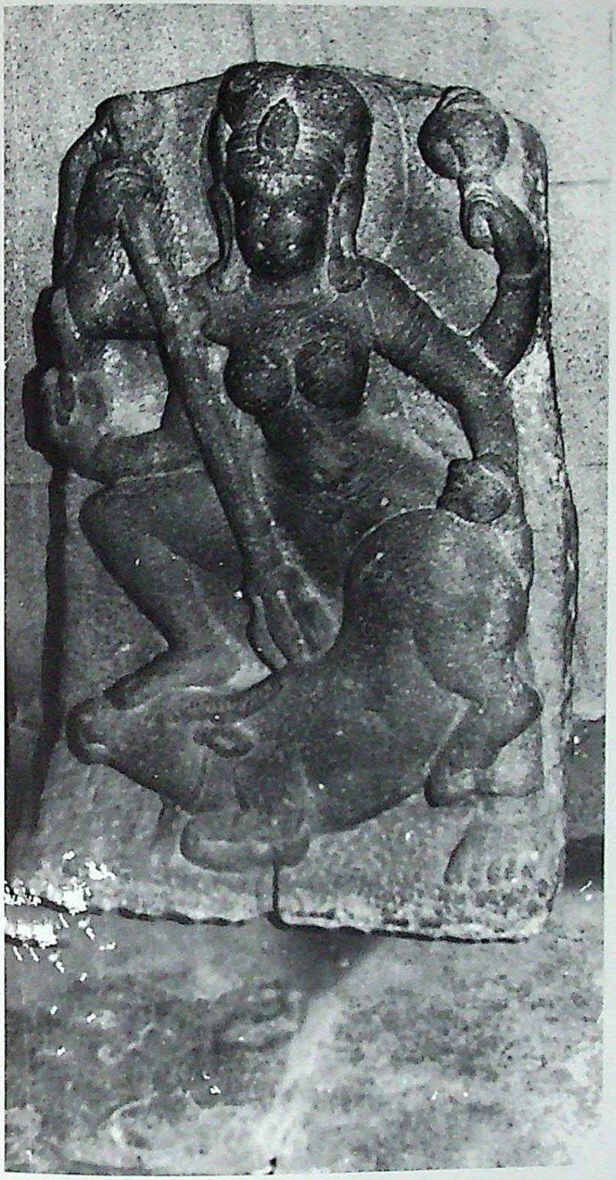
Pl. XXXVII. Alampūr, Bāla-Brahmā temple: 1. Kali images as *dvāravāsinīs*, 2. Devī.

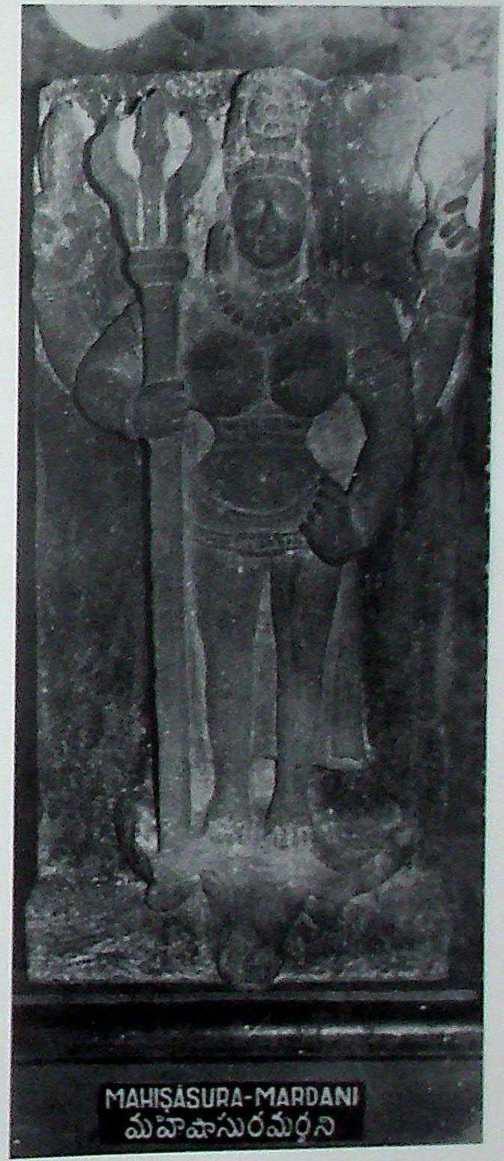


Pl. XXXVIII. Alampūr: 1. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Museum; 2. Devī in penance, Bāla-Brahmā temple.

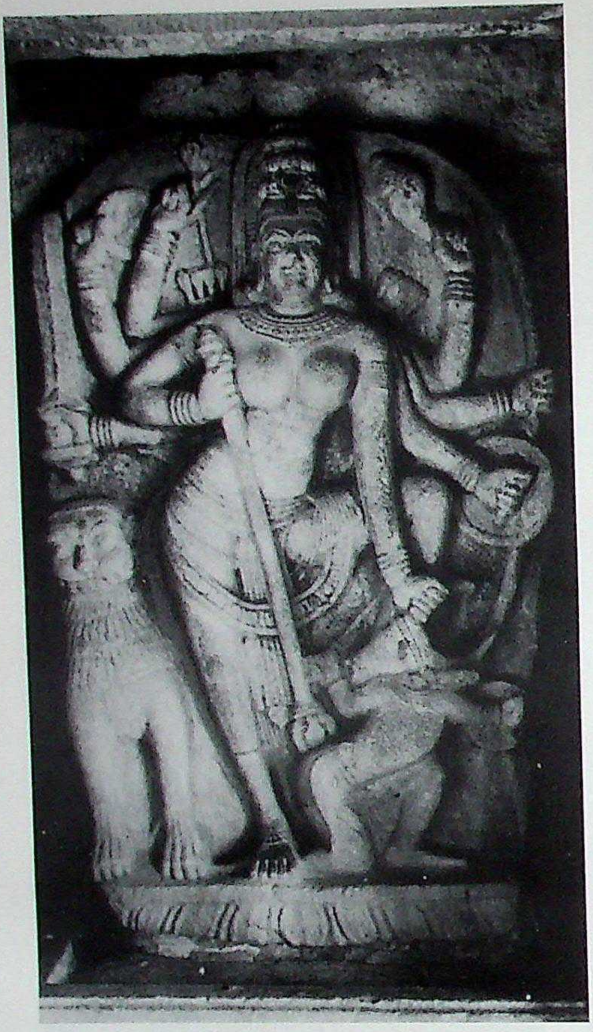

MAHIṢASURA MARDNI
మహిషాసుర మర్దని

Pl. XXXIX. Alampūr Museum: 1. Yoninilayā; 2. Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

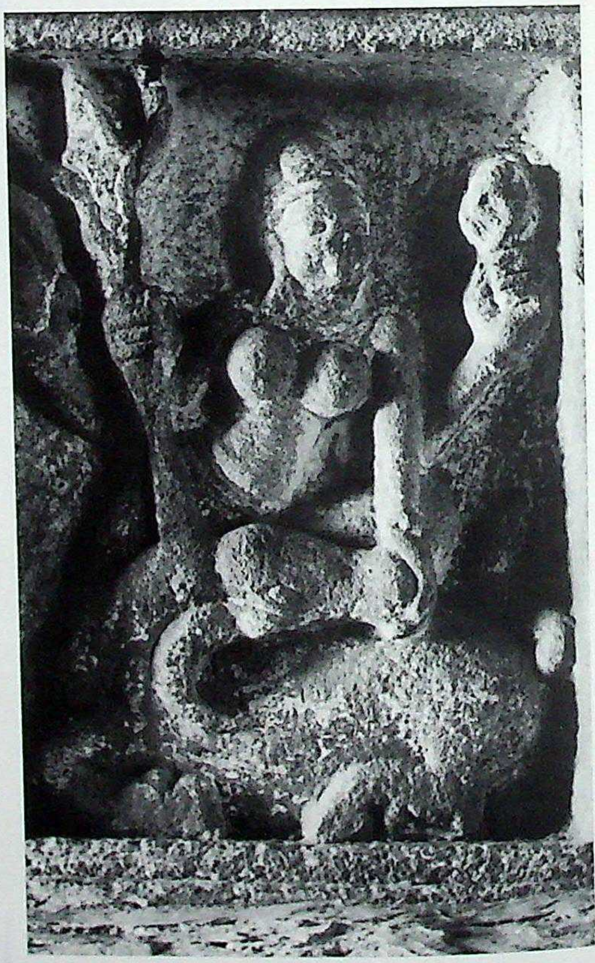



MAHIṢĀSURA-MARDANI
మహిషాసురమర్దని

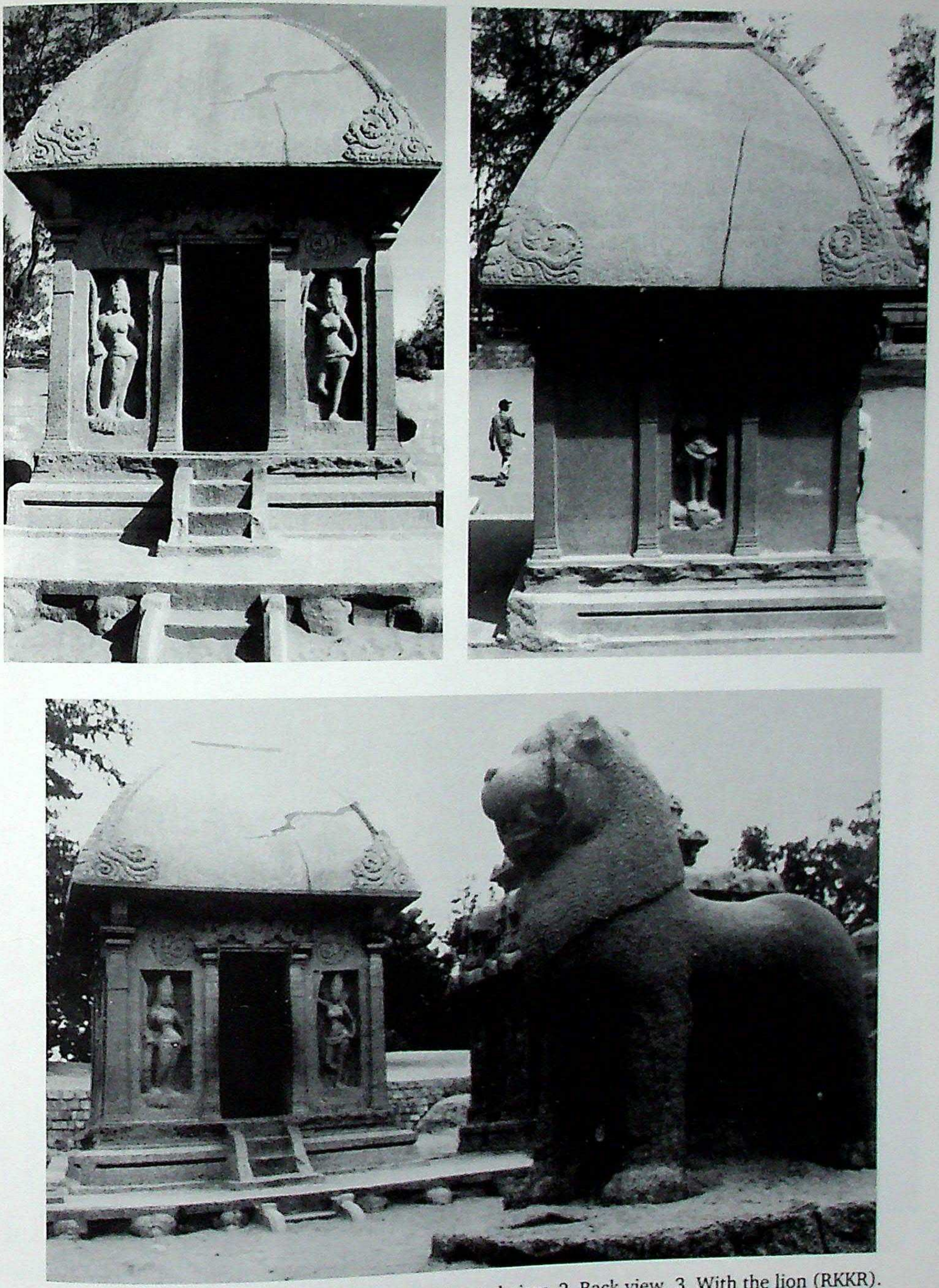
Pl. XL. Alampūr Museum: 1. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, 2. Mahiṣāsuramardinī standing on the head of *mahiṣa*.



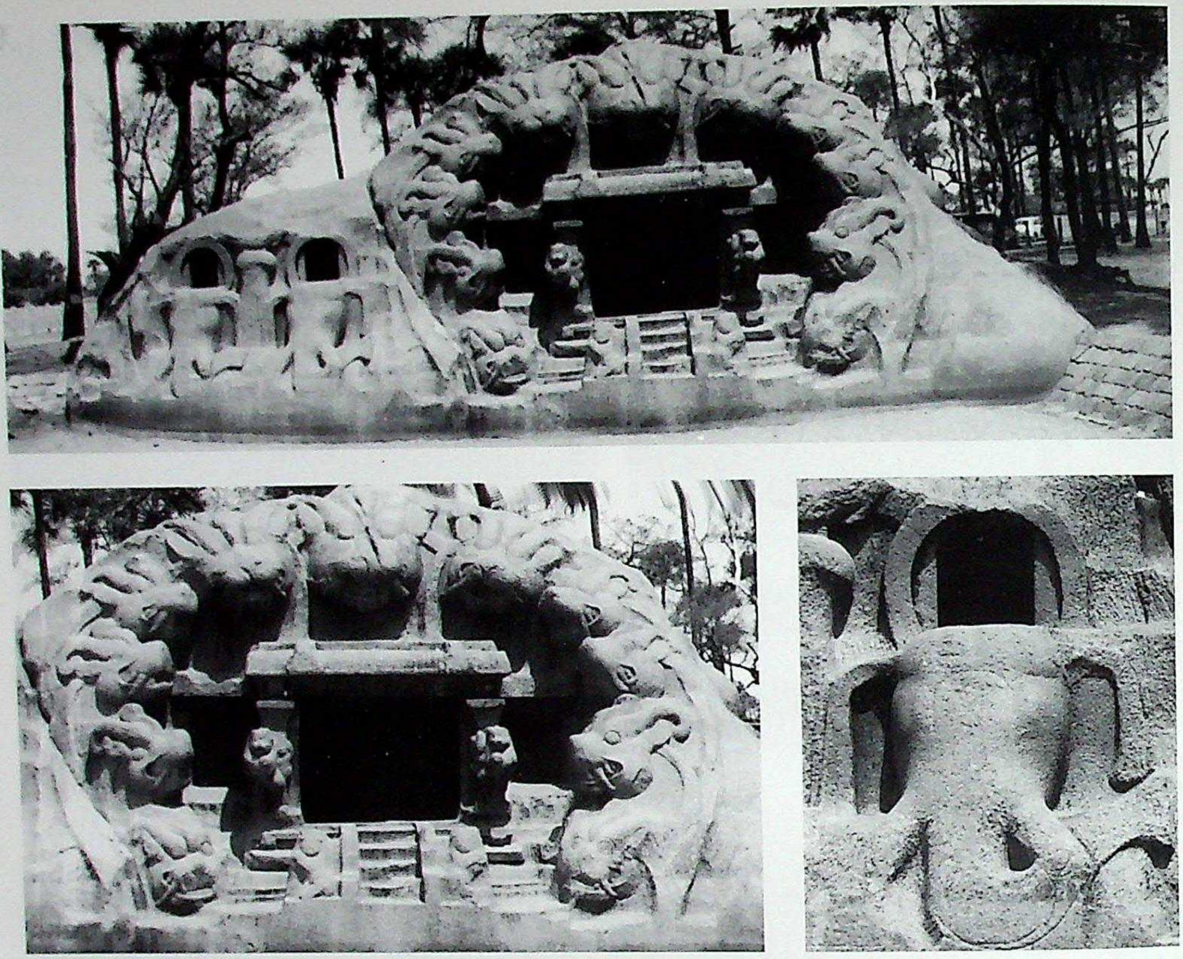
Pl. XLI. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Pāpanaseśvara temple, Alampūr, (AIIS).



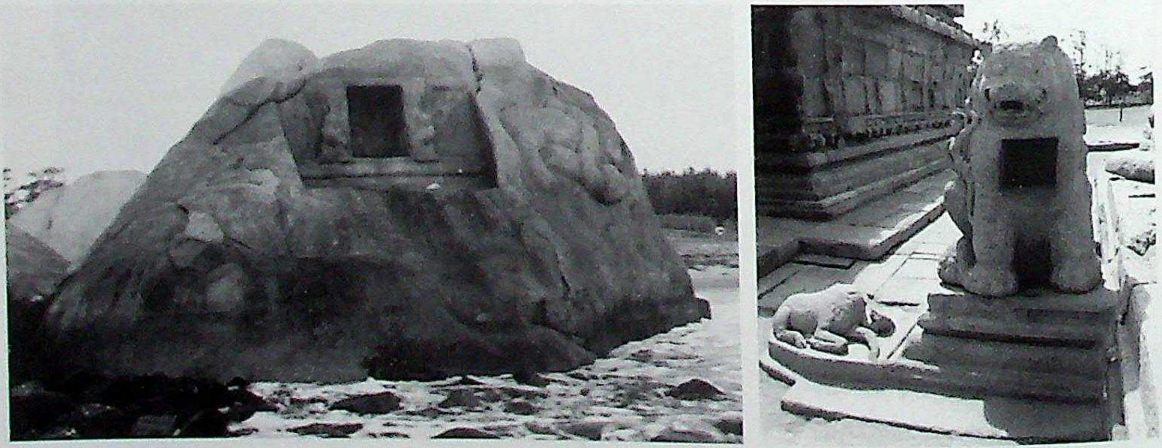
Pl. XLII. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Kūrma-Brahmā temple, Alampūr, (AIIS).



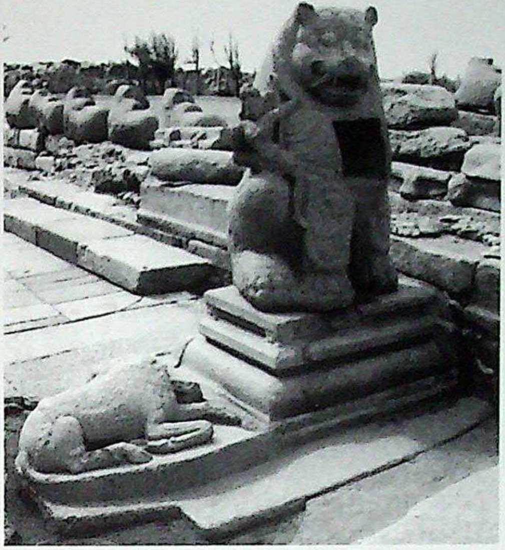
Pl. XLIII. Māmallapuram, Draupadī-*ratha*: 1. Frontal view, 2. Back view, 3. With the lion (RKKR).

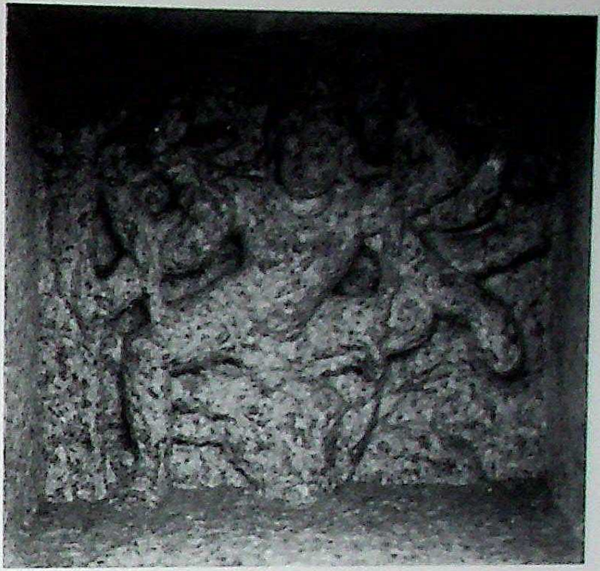


Pl. XLIV. Cāluvaṉkuppam Tiger cave: 1. Full view, 2. the Main cave, 3. Annexure to the south (RKKR).

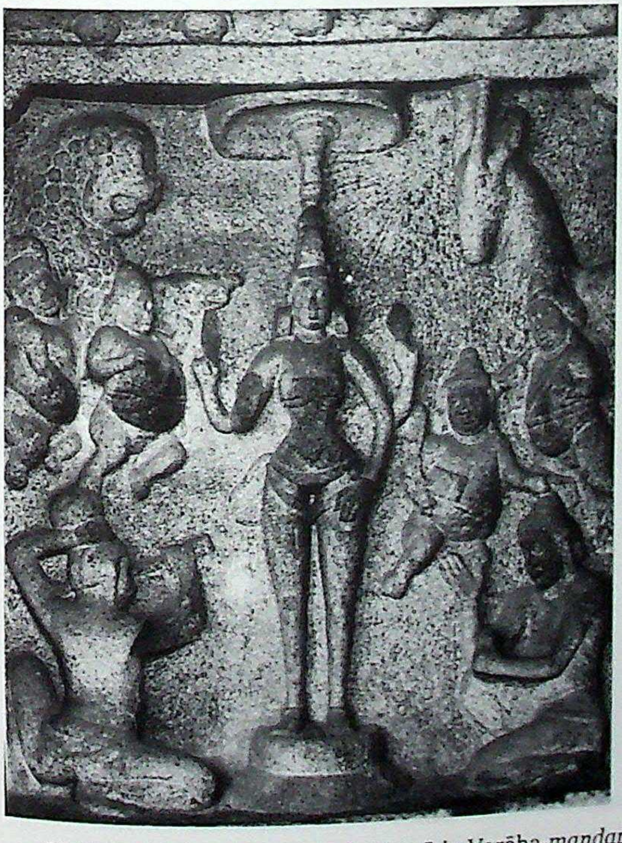


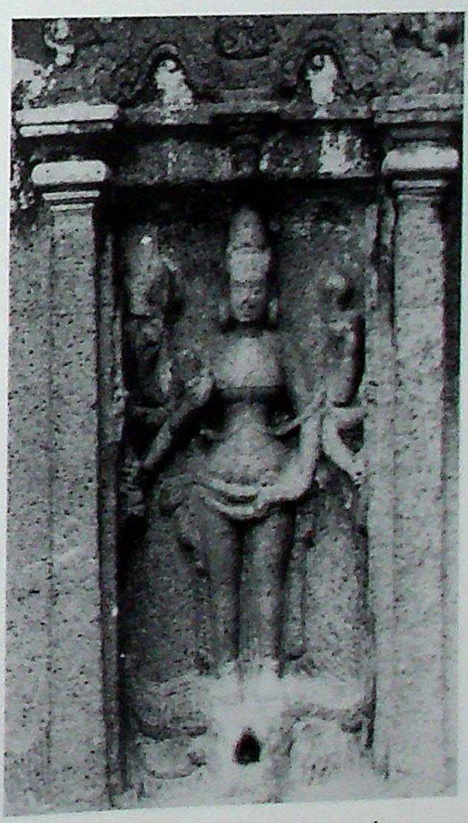
Pl. XLV. Māmallapuram: 1. Mahiṣa's Rock with carving of *mahiṣa*,
2. Lion in Shore temple with a mini-cella (RKKR).



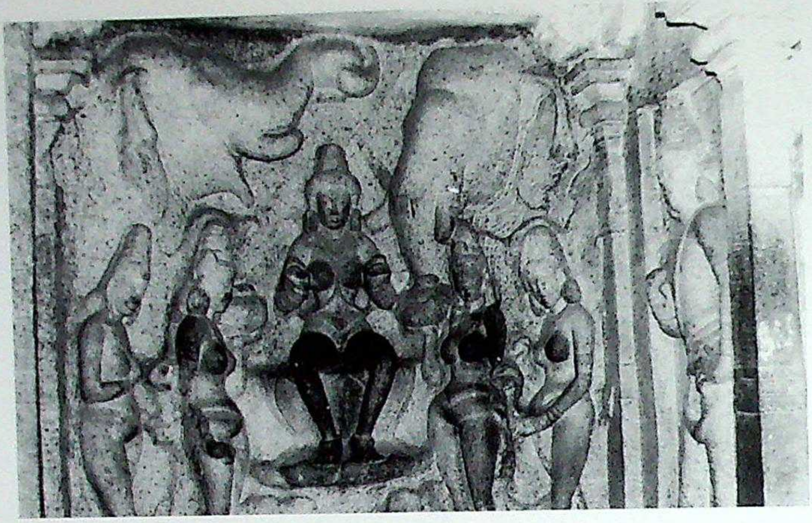


Pl. XLVI. Māmallapuram: 1. Northern view of Lion in Shore temple, 2. Mahiṣāmardinī in mini-cella (RKKR).

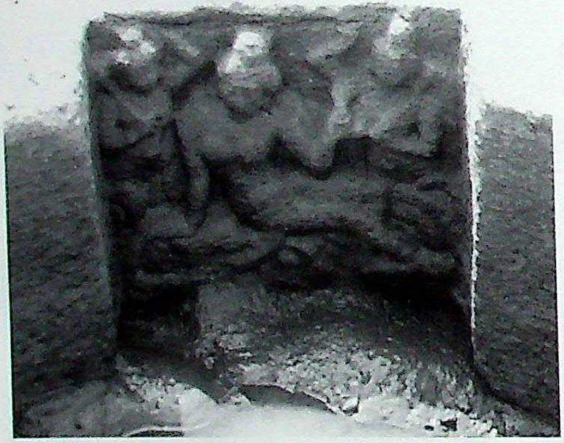


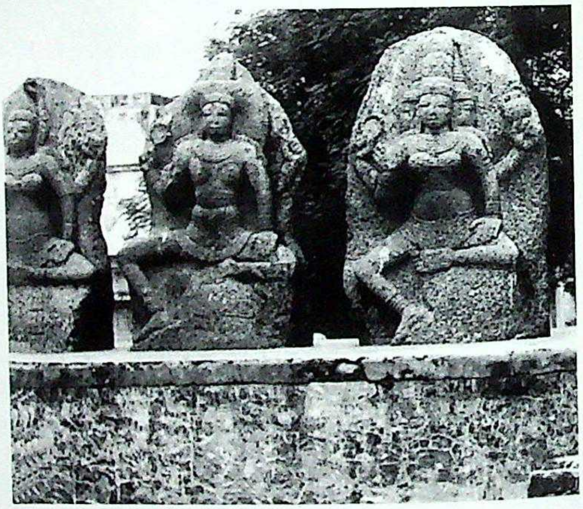


Pl. XLVII. Māmallapuram: 1. Durgā in Varāha-*maṇḍapa* 2. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Trimūrti-*maṇḍapa*.



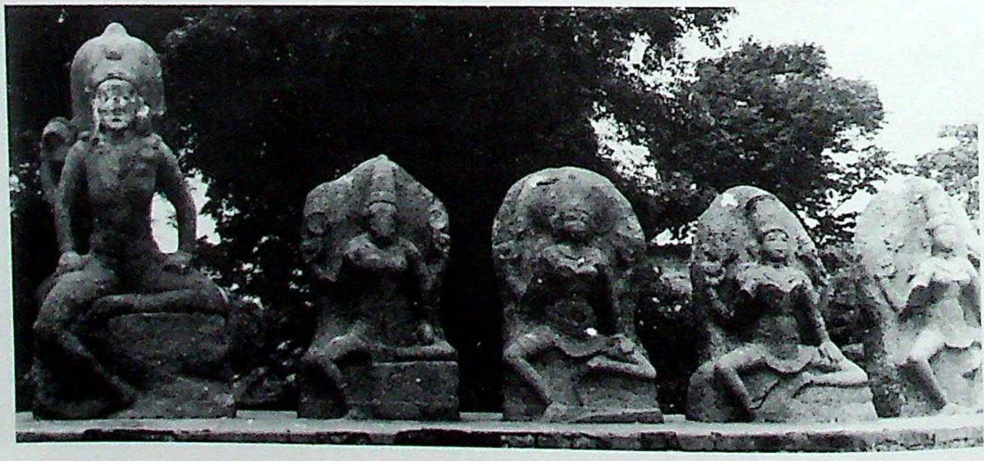
Pl. XLVIII.1. Māmallapuram: Gajalakṣmī, *Varāha-maṇḍapa*.



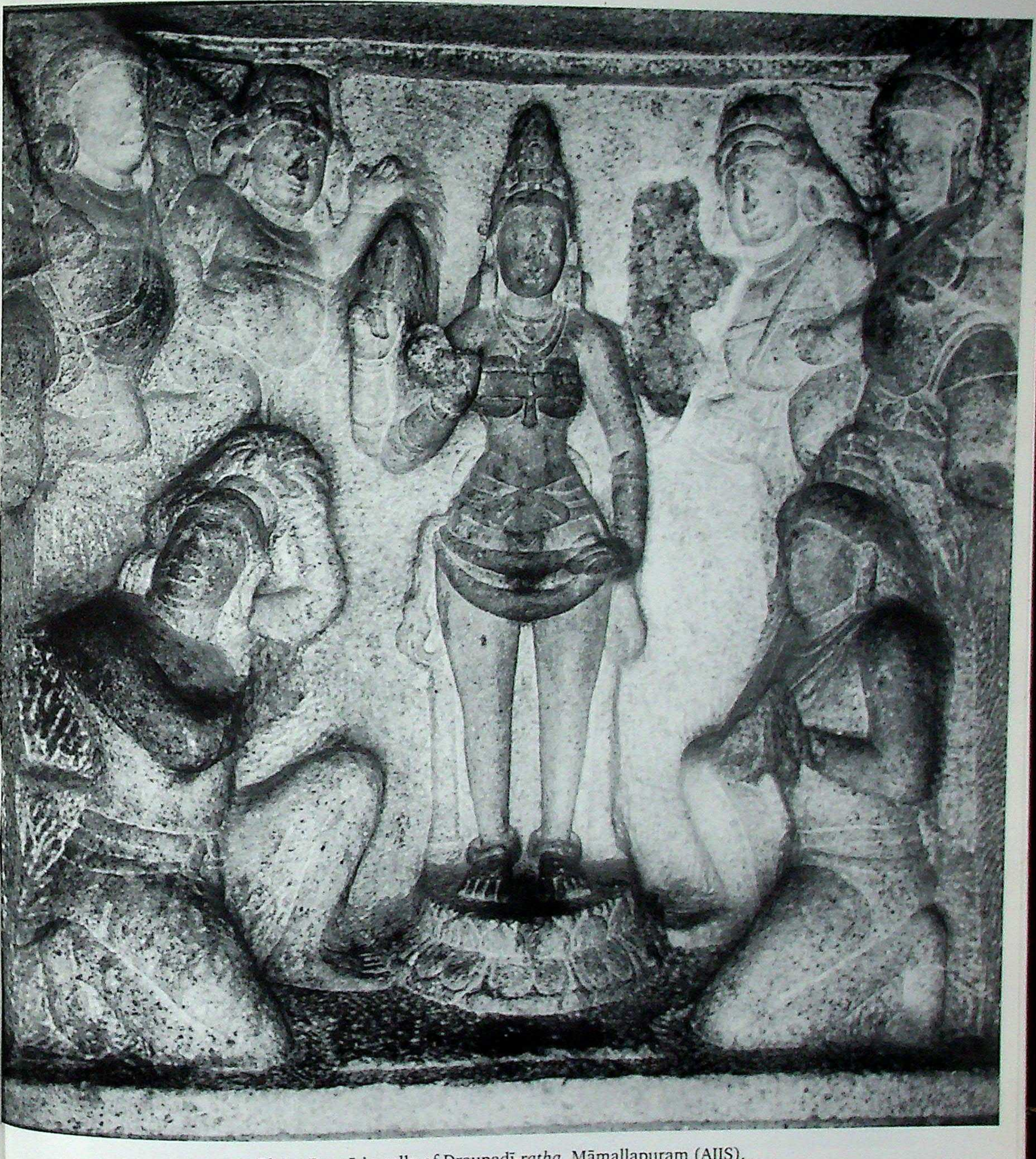


Pl. XLVIII.2. Māmallapuram: Devī on a rock in the beach.

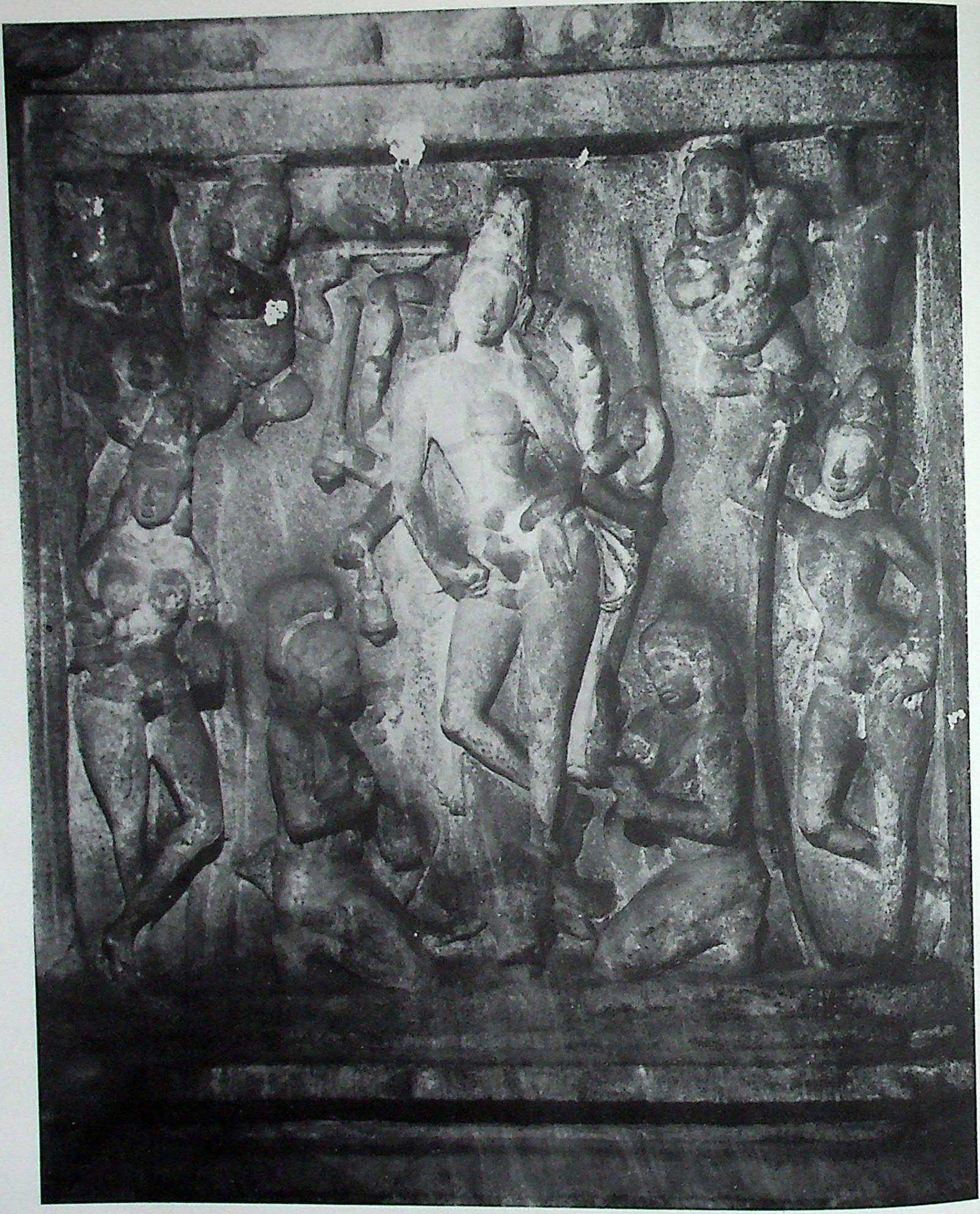
Pl. XLIX. Stray Sapta Mātṛkas, Māmallapuram.



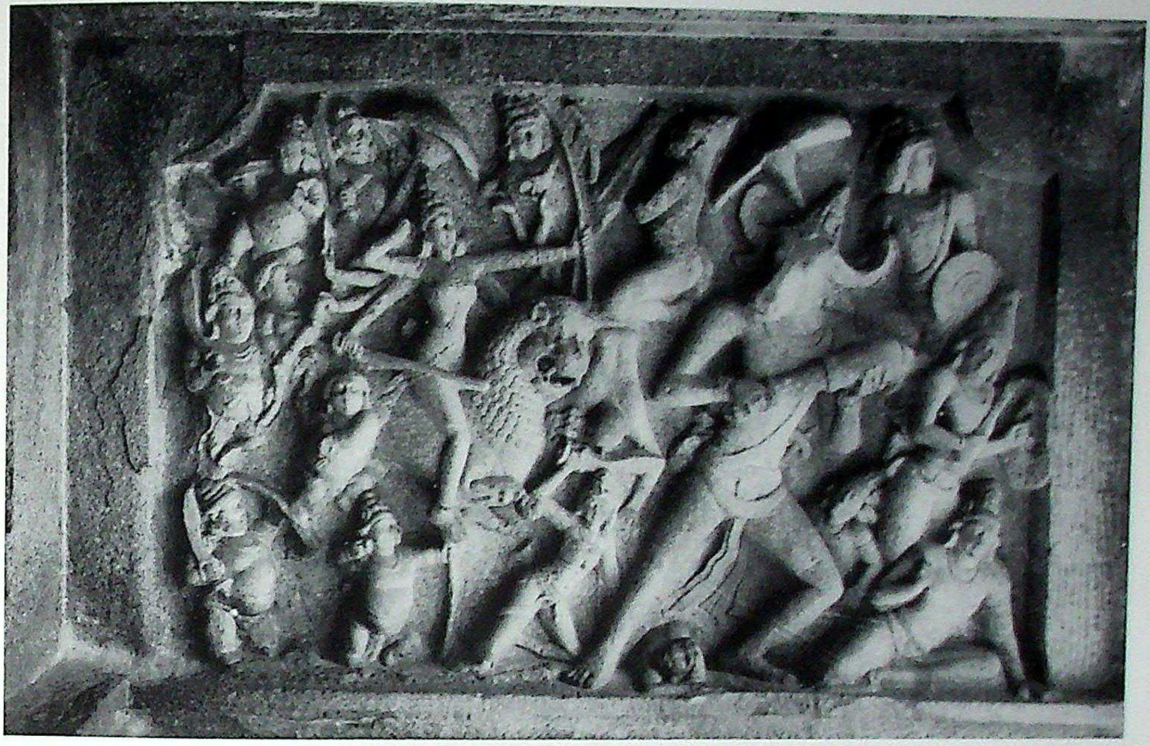
Pl. XLIX. Stray Sapta Mātṛkas, Māmallapuram.



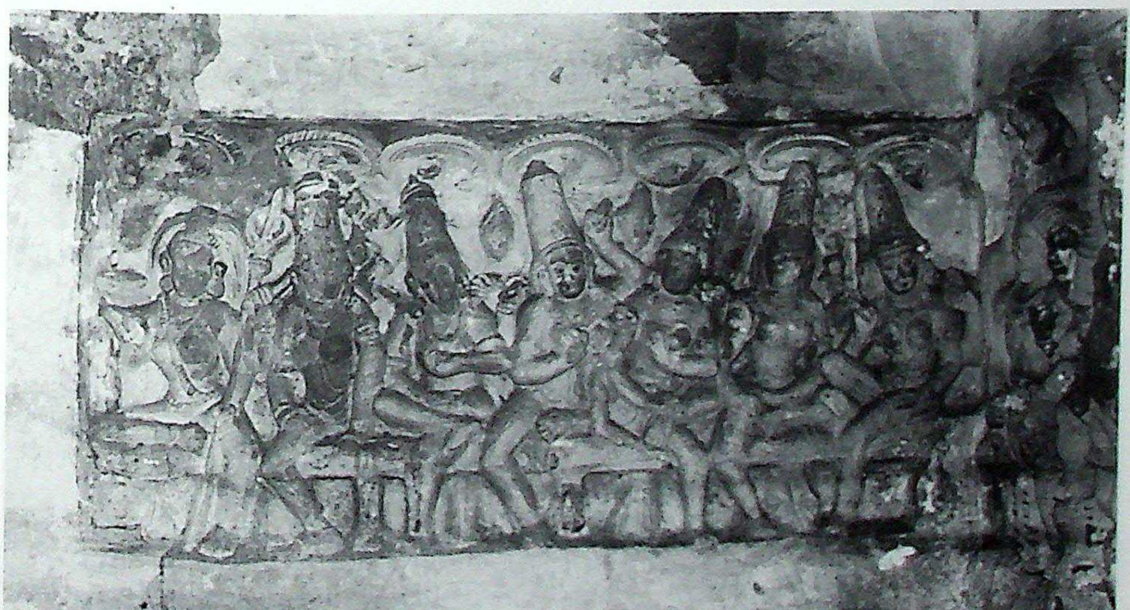
Pl. L. Durgā in cella of Draupadī-*ratha*, Māmallapuram (AIIS).



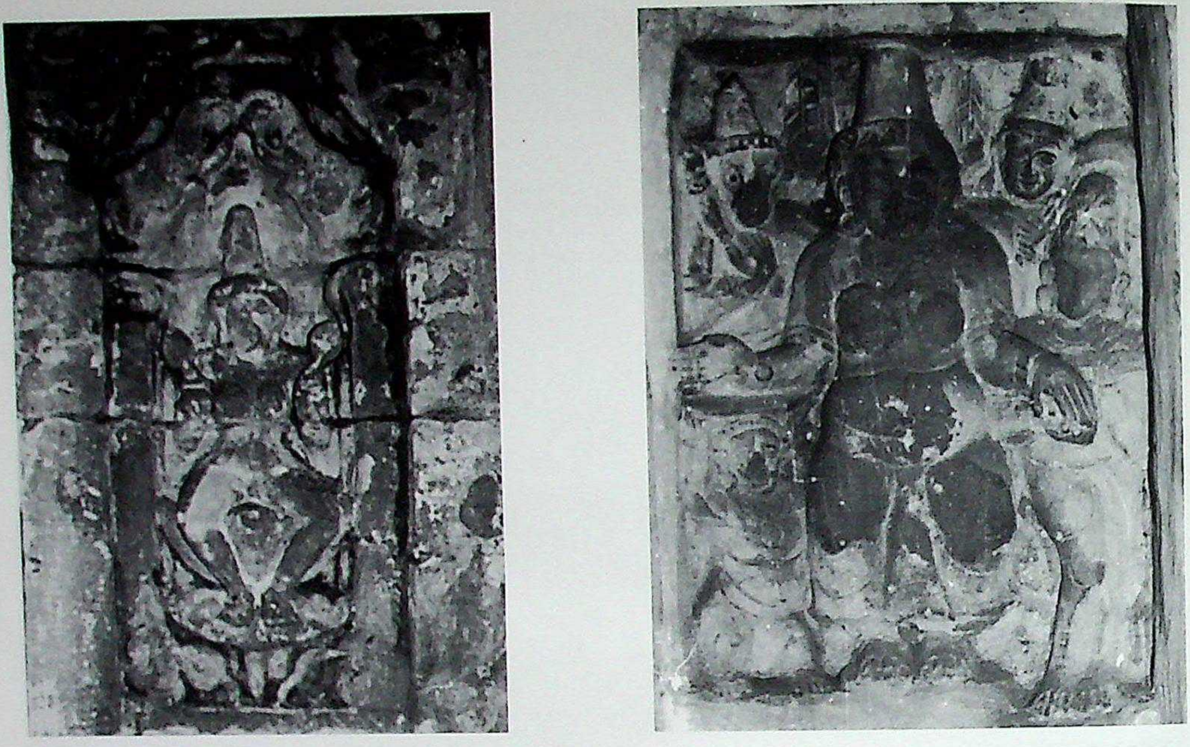
Pl. LI. Mahiṣāmardinī, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gṛha*, Māmallapuram (AIIS)



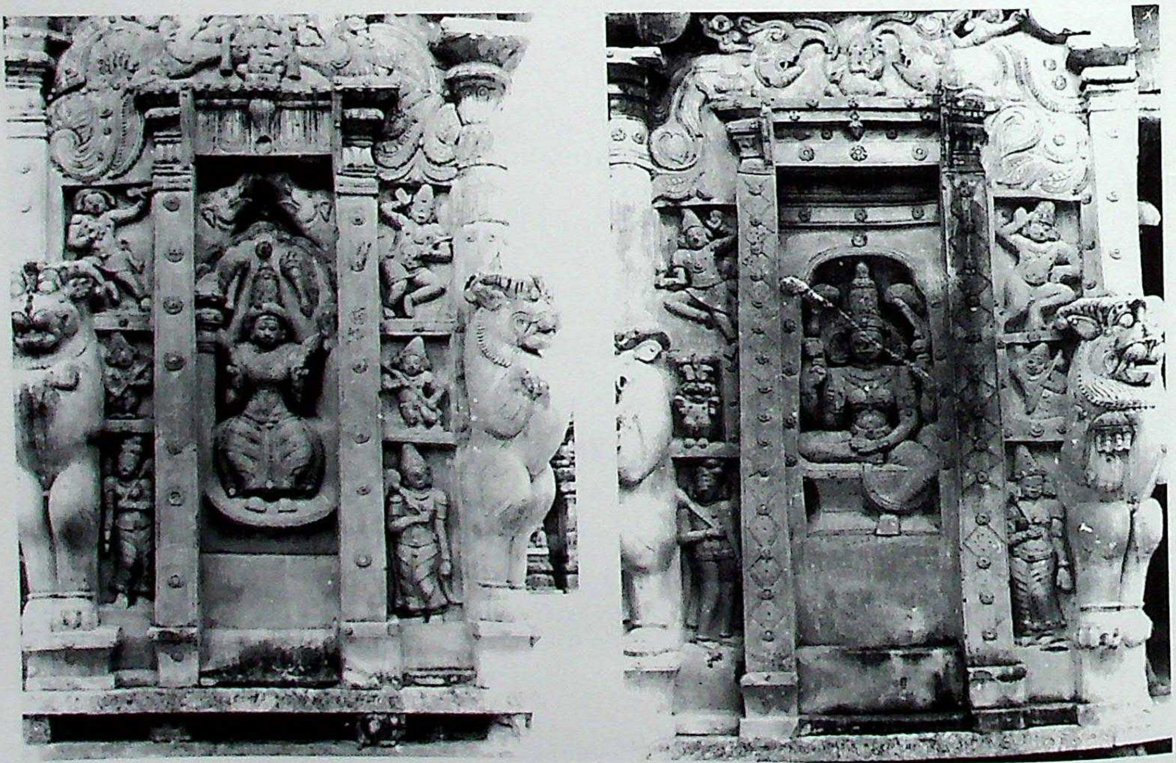
Pl. LII. Fight between Devī and *Mahiṣa*, Mahiṣāsuramardinī-*maṇḍapa*, Māmallapuram (AIIS).



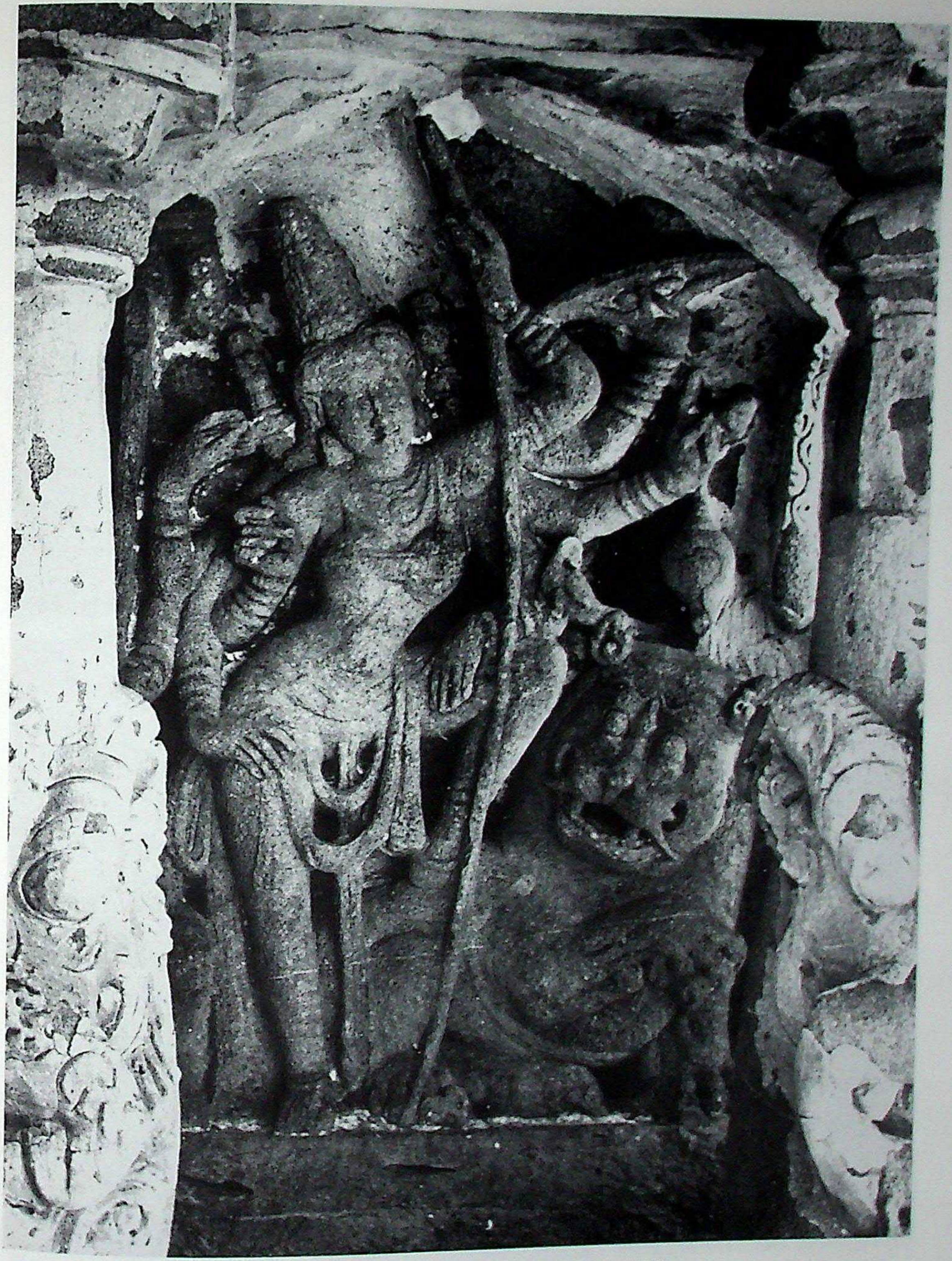
Pl. LIII. Sapta Mātṛkas, Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñci.



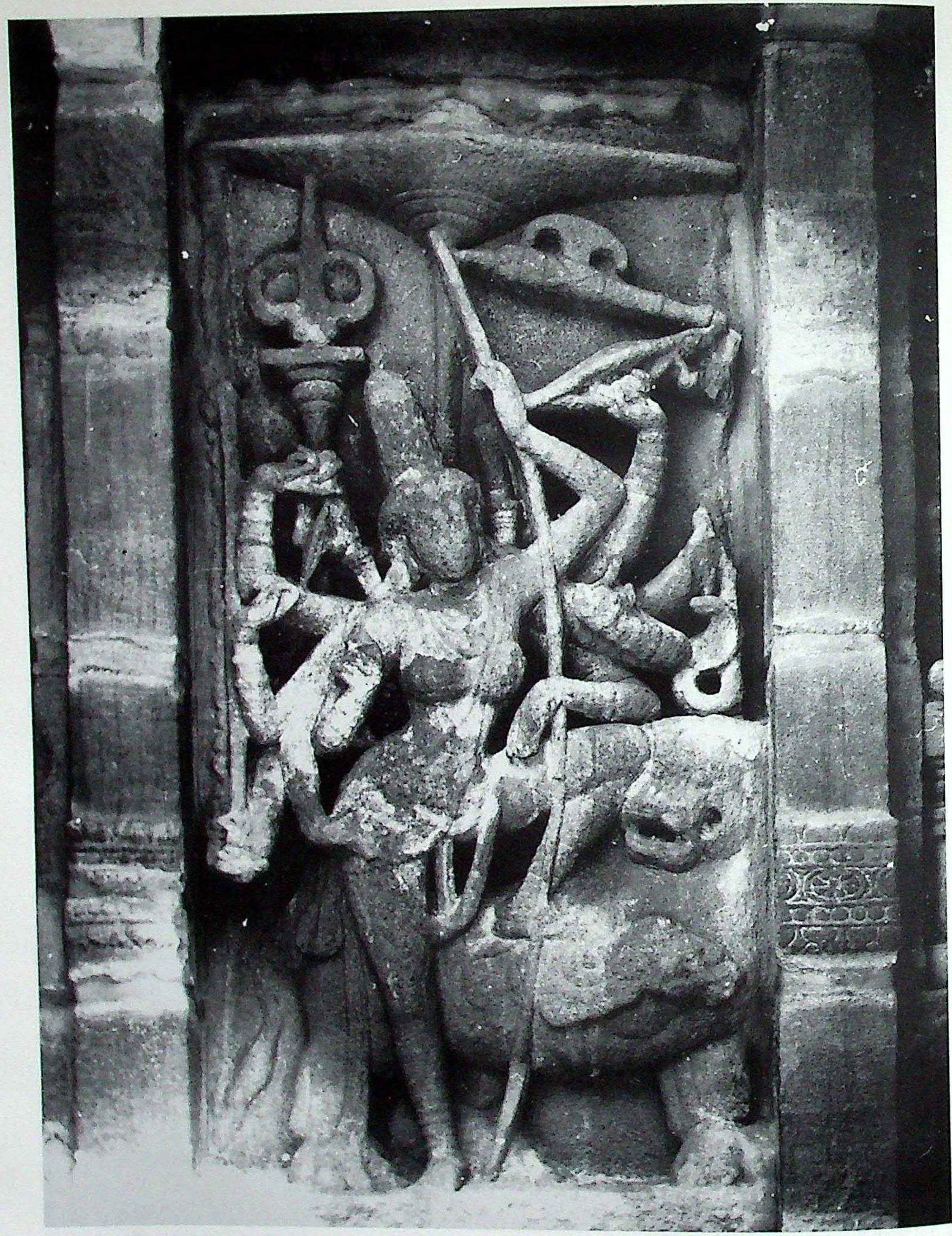
Pl. LIV. Kāñci, Kailāsanātha: 1. Gajalakṣmī 2. Jyeṣṭhadevī.



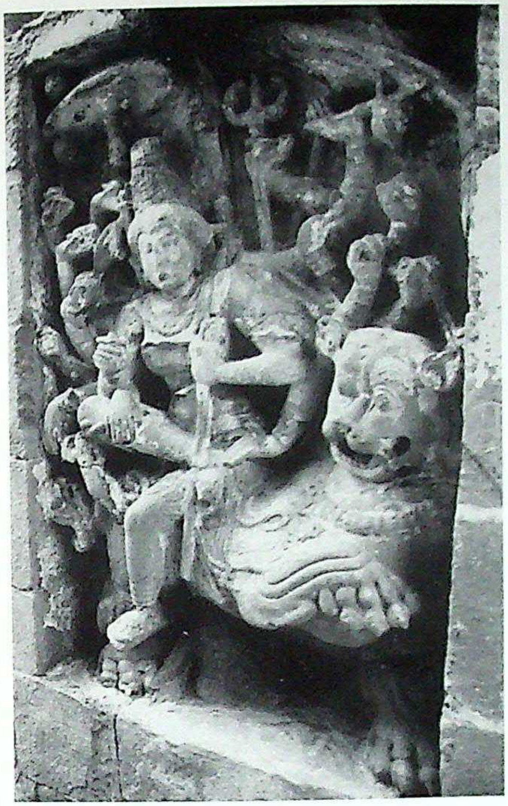
Pl. LV. Kāñci, Kailāsanātha: 1. Gajalakṣmī 2. Sarasvatī.



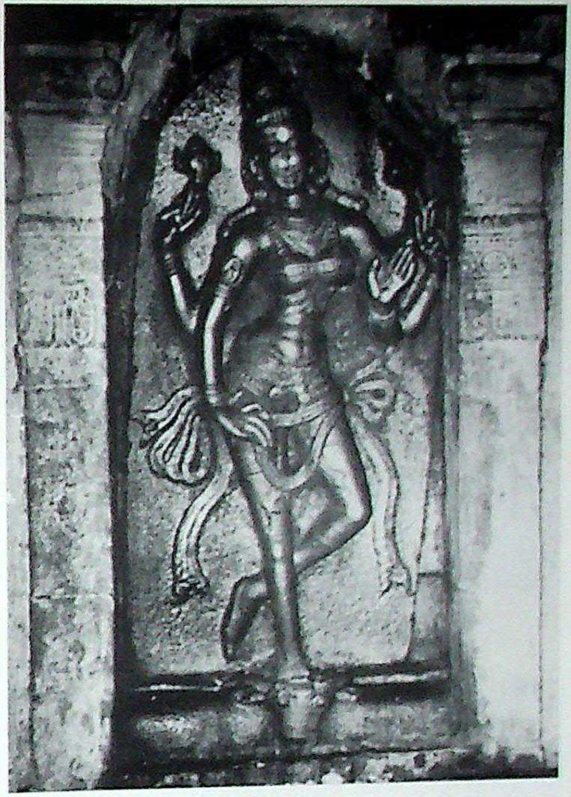
Pl. LVI. Siṁhavāhinī, Kailāsanātha. Kāñci (AIIS).



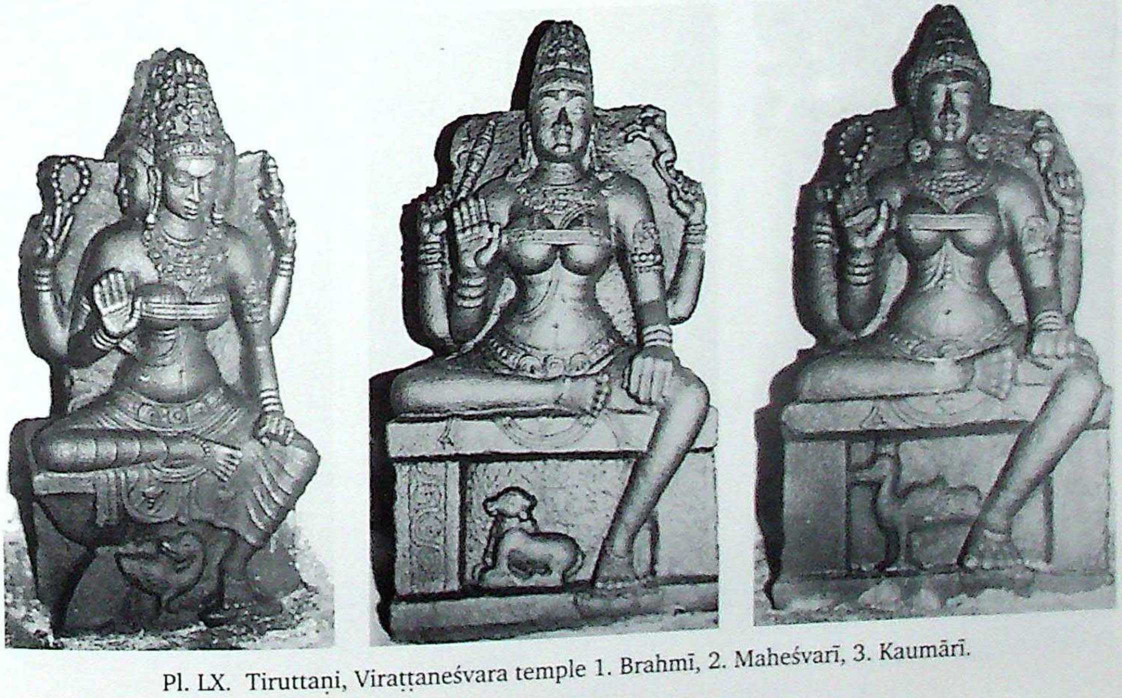
Pl. LVII. Siṁhavāhinī, Kailāsanātha, Kāñci (AIIS).



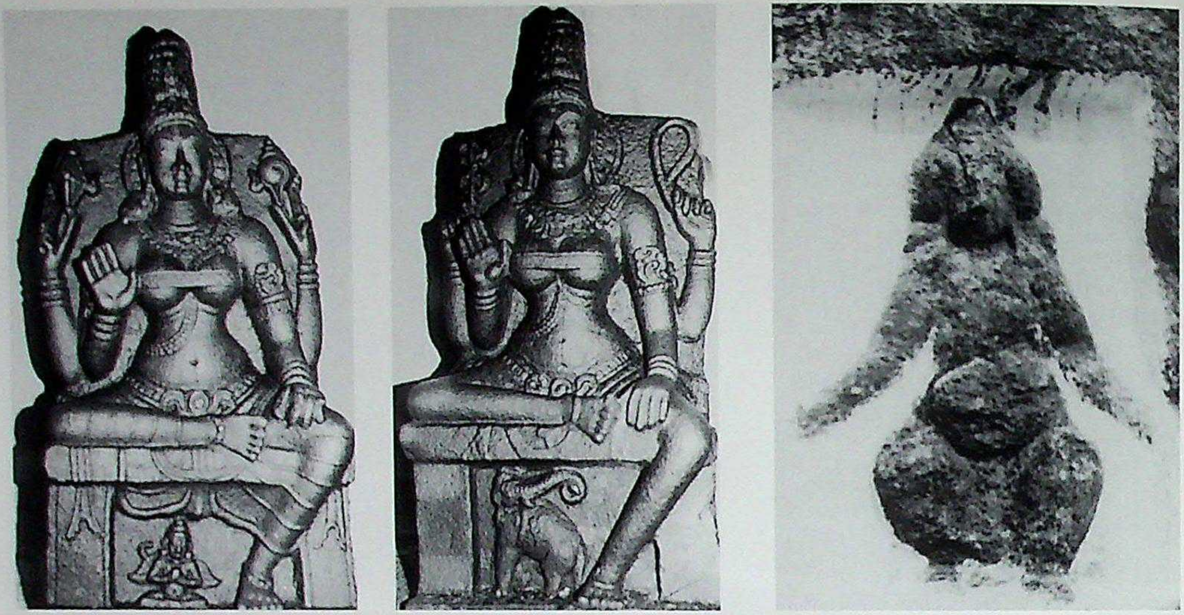
Pl. LVIII. Siṁhavāhinī, Kailāsanātha, Kāñci (RKKR).



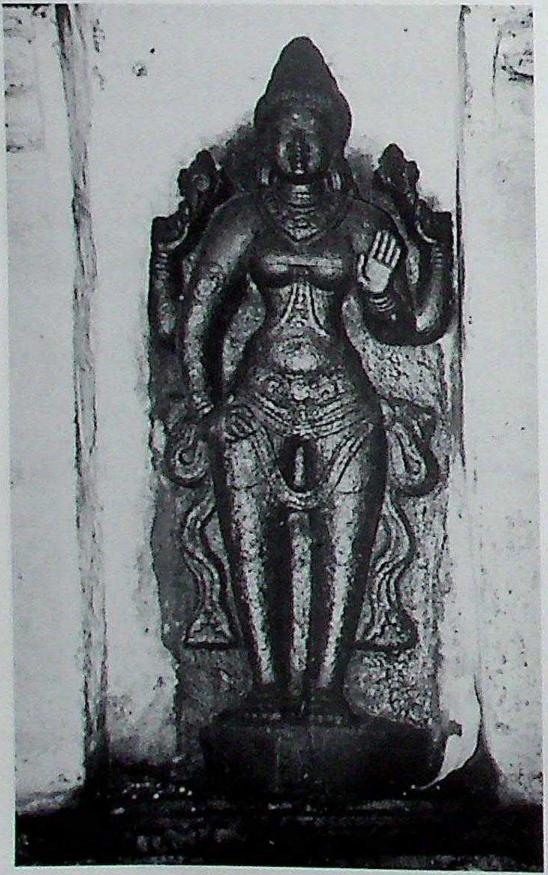
Pl. LIX. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Jalāndīśvara temple, Takkōlam.



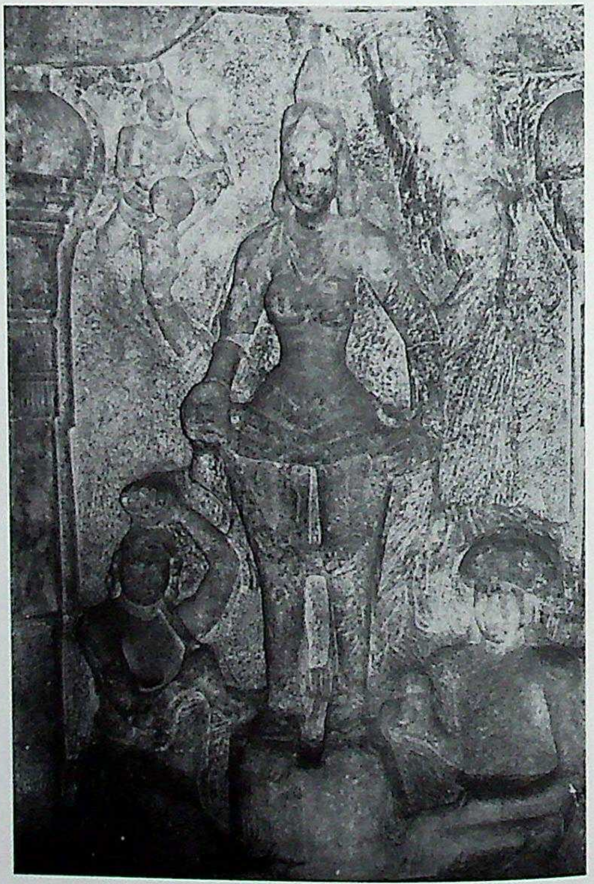
Pl. LX. Tiruttaṇi, Viraṭṭaneśvara temple 1. Brahmī, 2. Maheśvarī, 3. Kaumārī.



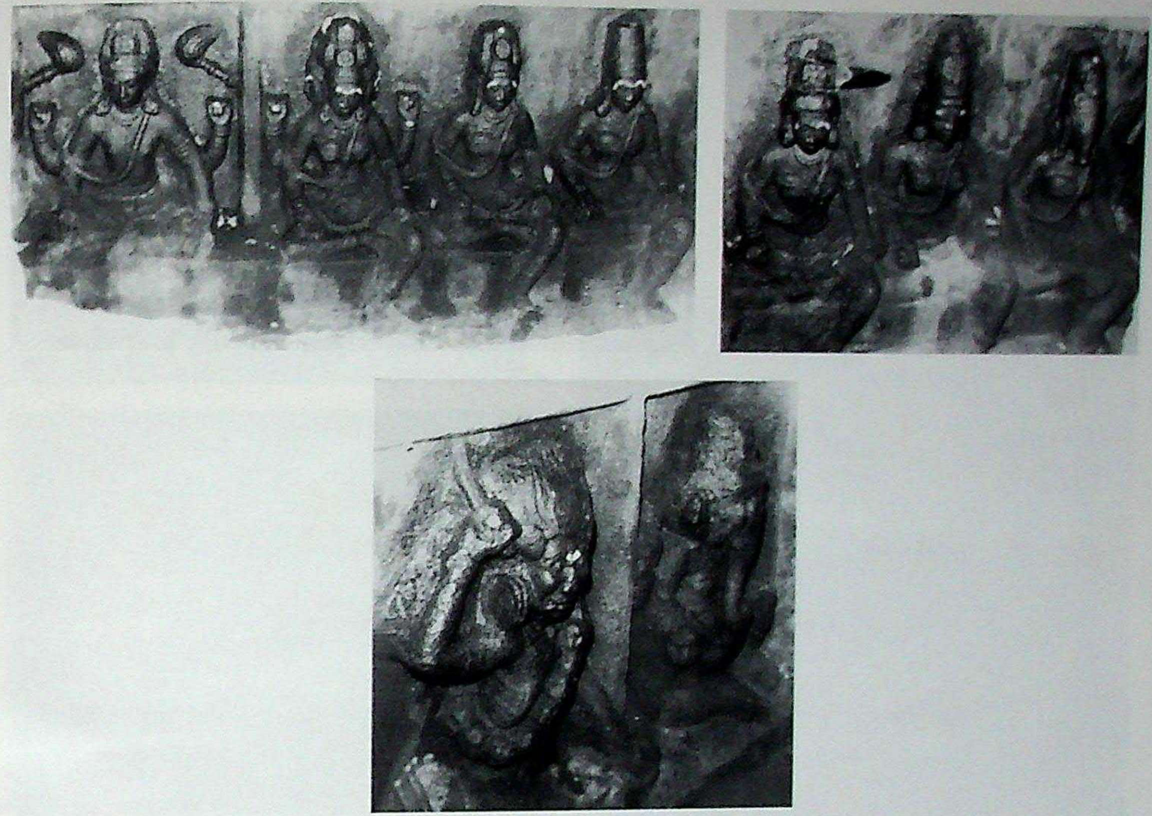
Pl. LXI.1. Vaiṣṇavī, Tiruttaṇi; 2. Indrāṇī, Tiruttaṇi. Viraṭṭaneśvara; 3. Jyeṣṭhādevī, Vallam.



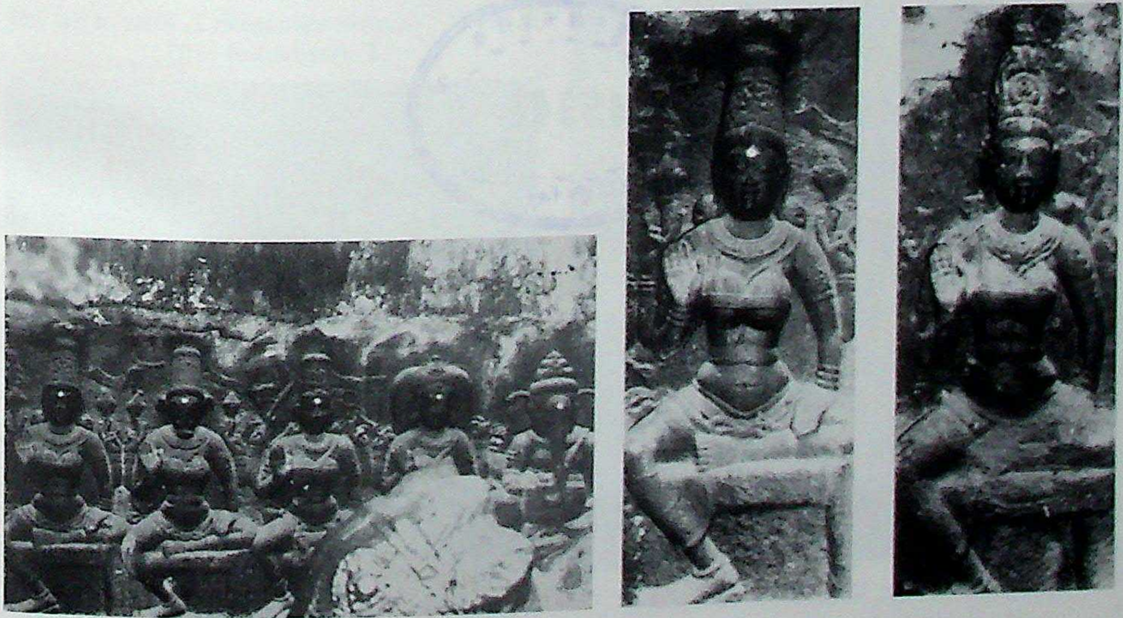
Pl. LXII. Durgā, Tiruttaṇi, Vīraṭṭaneśvara temple.



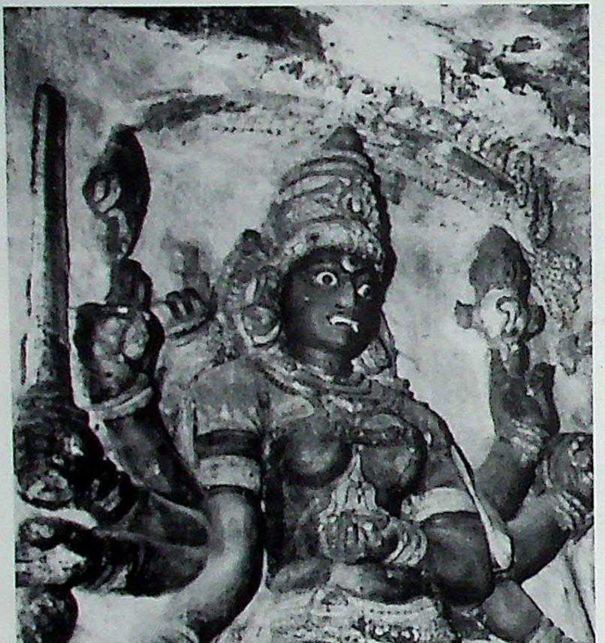
Pl. LXIII. Durgā, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave.



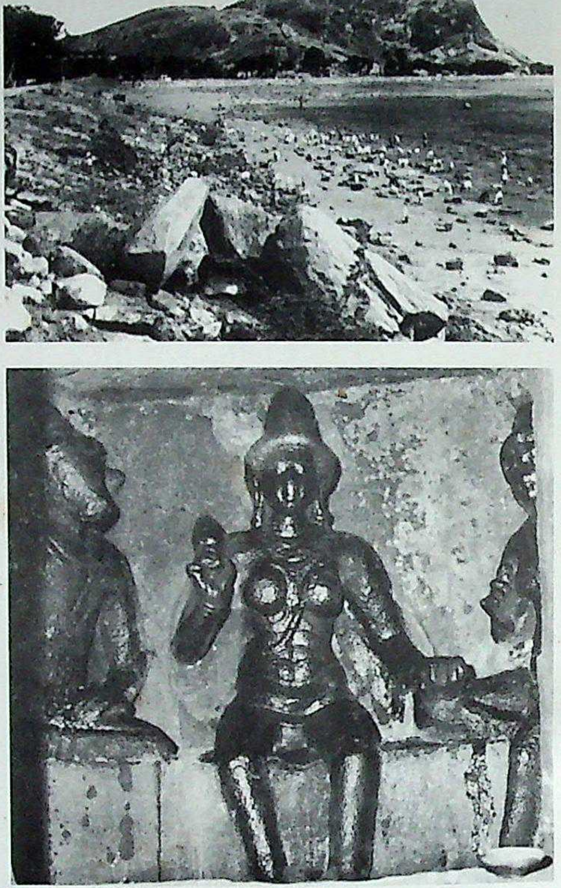
Pl. LXIV.1-3. Sapta Mātṛkas flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati, Tirukōkarṇam cave.



Pl. LXV.1-3. Sapta Mātṛkas, Vāgīśvara cave, Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi.



Pl. LXVI. Durgā, Kuṉṉakkuṭi cave (FII).



Pl. LXVII. Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam: 1. View of the hill, 2. Jyeṣṭhādevī (FII)

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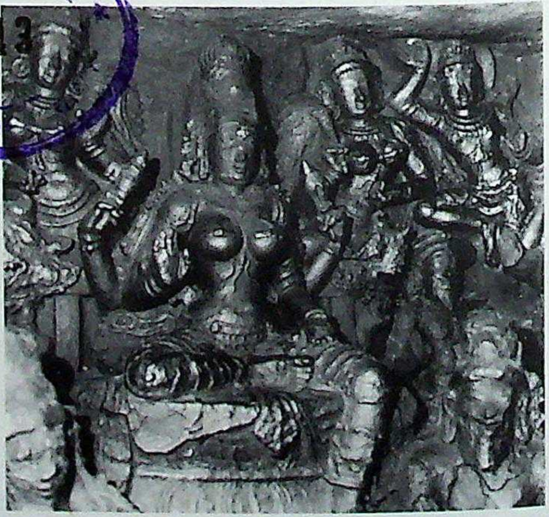
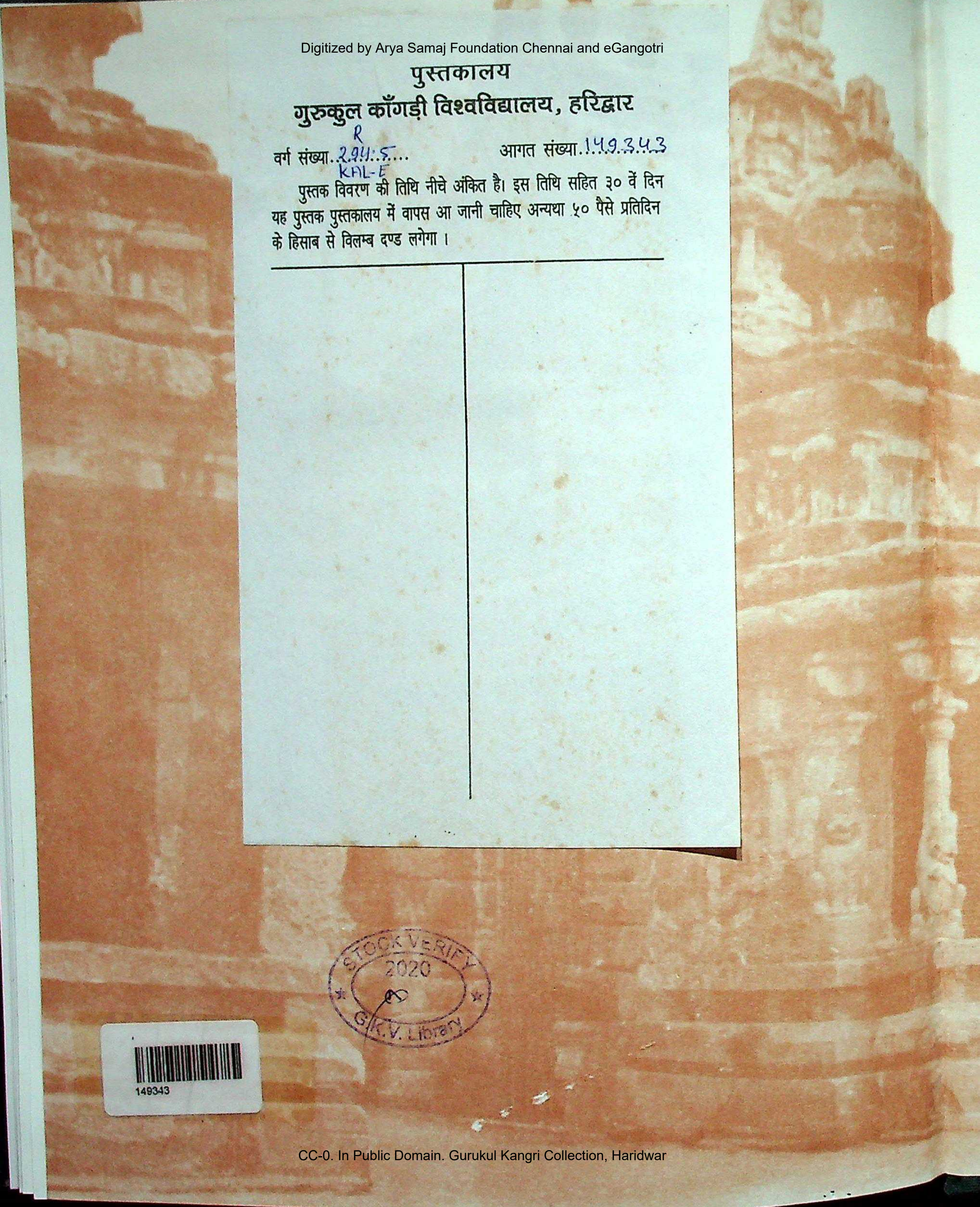


Pl. LXVIII. Bhuvaneśvari, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam north caves (FII).



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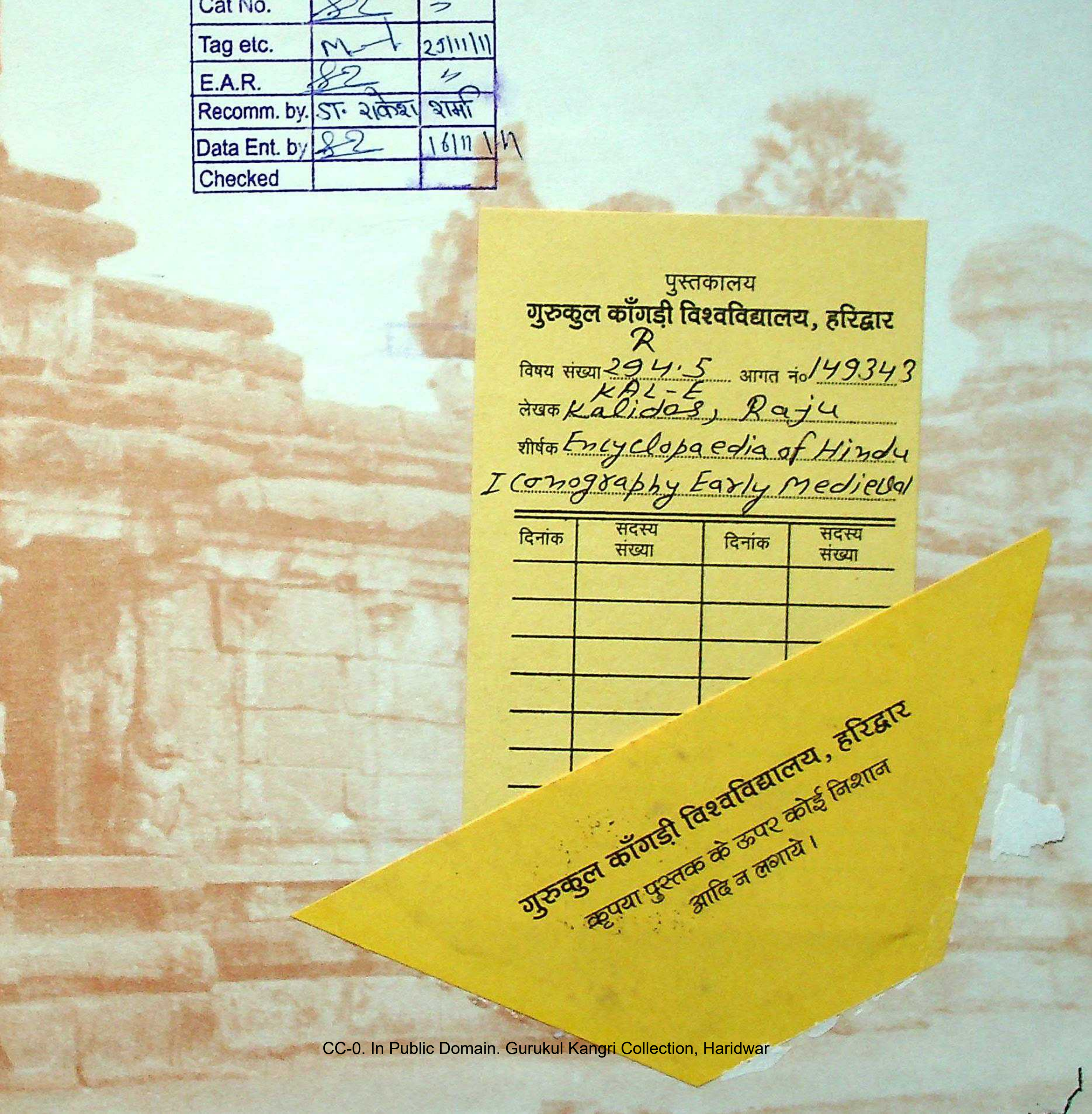

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